



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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'Drawbacks' in U.S. Approach to Geneva Proposals
LD2910004588 Moscow TASS in English 0032 GMT
29 Oct 88

[Text] Geneva October 29 TASS—The discussion of issues connected with the drafting of a treaty, which would halve the strategic offensive weapons, and documents relating to it has continued at the group on strategic offensive weapons at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva.

The Soviet delegation submitted the proposal on challenge inspections that should be held within the boundaries of the territory of one of the sides or a country where strategic offensive weapons are deployed, at localities and facilities where, according to the other side, the concealed deployment, manufacturing, storage and repair of strategic offensive weapons could be carried out. The Soviet proposals, in particular, provide for holding the above-mentioned inspections aboard submarines or surface vessels if verification by the national technical means of remote control give rise to concern.

The U.S. delegation also set out its considerations on the question of challenge inspections. However, the American approach suffers from a number of drawbacks. The challenge inspections cannot be carried out at facilities located in the countries where strategic offensive weapons are deployed, and private firms, whose activity can prompt relevant questions. In contrast to the comprehensive Soviet approach, the American position limits the challenge inspections only to activity relating to the intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles, leaving the other types of strategic offensive weapons. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0830 GMT on 29 October, in a similar report on the Soviet proposal on challenge inspections and the U.S. response, notes: "The U.S. approach excludes facilities which are situated outside the United States and private firms. The U.S. stance reduces inspections to intercontinental ballistic missiles and ballistic missiles on submarines. Thus, other kinds of strategic offensive armaments have been left out."]

The American proposals on continuous inspection of production facilities, made this week, are also selective. In actual fact they provide for such inspection only at facilities that produce mobile intercontinental missiles and exempt from control facilities that produce other types of strategic offensive weapons. The sides continued discussing the wording as regards the limitations on long-range air-launched cruise missiles and heavy bombers, as well as control over the ICBM mobile launchers, with the aim of arriving at mutually acceptable solutions.

In the space armaments group the Soviet side reaffirmed its readiness to work out a joint draft treaty on the observance and non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty in

full compliance with the agreement reached at the summit meeting in Washington in December 1987. The discussion of the questions of the protocol to the agreement also continued.

In the course of the meetings that were held, the Soviet side provided graphic proof that the recent American proposals at the space armaments group did not promote progress at the talks. For example, the U.S. proposal on exchanging information on relevant programmes in the field of ABM, which, according to the US approach, could be carried out by the sides, in actual fact was aimed at legalizing the activity in the field of antimissile defenses, banned under the 1972 treaty. The American proposal to permit the tests of the components of the space-based ABM defense with the use of satellites is also at variance with the aim of strict observance of the ABM Treaty. In this connection the Soviet delegation stressed that the Soviet side resolutely favored banning any activity in the field of antimissile defenses that went beyond the framework of limitations under the ABM Treaty.

The attention of the American side was drawn to the statement made by the Soviet Government on October 27 this year, which, in particular, pointed out that "in present-day conditions, when the question of working out a comprehensive concept of international peace and security becomes particularly topical, the preservation and consolidation of the ABM Treaty has an even greater importance. All these circumstances prompt the Soviet Union to declare invariably for unswerving observance of the treaty, for the preservation and consolidation of its regime."

The Soviet delegation stressed again that the strict observance of the ABM Treaty was an essential prerequisite for making radical reductions in the strategic offensive weapons.

Observer on ABM Compliance, Krasnoyarsk Station
LD2810184788 Moscow World Service in English
1210 GMT 28 Oct 88

[Text] The Soviet Government has said it intends to continue to comply in good faith with the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Our military observer, Colonel Eduard Asaturov, explains the essence of the measures adopted to consolidate this accord:

[Asaturov, in Russian fading into superimposed English translation] This concerns the future of a radar installation under construction near Krasnoyarsk as well as separate elements of the earlier-dismantled mobile radars near Gomel and Moscow. The Pentagon has called these facilities Flat Twin and Pawn Shop. As a military man, I can say with full confidence that these installations have nothing to do with antimissile defense. The Krasnoyarsk radar, the construction of which incidentally was suspended 1 year ago, was designed to track down space objects. As for separate elements of the

earlier-dismantled mobile radars, the idea was to use them for economic purposes. This seems to be common knowledge in Washington. American senators have visited the Krasnoyarsk radar installation, while U.S. experts have inspected elements of the former mobile radars near Gomel and Moscow. Nonetheless, the United States is alleging that the facilities are a breach of the ABM Treaty. It has resorted to this fraud to justify its violations of the accords and slow down work on a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms.

To expose the groundless charges, the Soviet Union has decided to transfer the Krasnoyarsk radar installation to the National Academy of Sciences and scrap separate components of the dismantled mobile radars near Gomel and Moscow once and for all. Judging by Washington's early reaction, the Soviet decision proved to be unexpected for the United States. So far there has been no desire on the part of the United States to abandon its former negative positions. Nor is it clear how Washington will respond to the concern expressed by the Soviet Government over the Americans' breach of the ABM Treaty: What is meant is the deployment of a major radar in Greenland and a similar facility in Britain.

Nuclear Planning Communique Reflects 'Compromise'
*LD2910082788 Moscow TASS in English 0758 GMT
29 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—TASS observer for military issues Vladimir Bogachev reports:

A session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group that discussed for two days in The Hague the modernization of nuclear armaments in Europe has revealed serious differences between its participants over the term and scope of nuclear rearmament. A communique published in The Hague reflects a compromise reached by the supporters of the immediate modernization of the NATO nuclear weapon systems and its opponents. Of course, the purpose of the compromise was to demonstrate the "unbreakable unity of the bloc". Suffice it to say that there are no such words as "modernization" and "compensation" in the final document of the session.

Controversy over the problem of the modernization flared up before the beginning of the session. Reports appeared in the Western press to the effect that Britain and the U.S. intend to exert pressure on their NATO allies with a view to making them immediately give their consent to the development of new shorter-range missiles and to the taking of other military measures aimed at "compensating" for the elimination of U.S. medium- and shorter-range missiles under the Soviet-American treaty.

On the other hand, Prime Minister Wilfried Martens of Belgium stated that the modernization decision should be taken after the working out of a general concept of the limitation of all types of armaments in Europe. Guy Coe, Belgian minister of national defense, criticized a report of NATO military experts and said that it was incompatible with the period of detente in international relations.

Judging by Western press reports, delegations of West Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark met without much enthusiasm the demands of the U.S. and Britain on the immediate rearmament of NATO. Greece said that it reserved a special opinion on the problem discussed.

The impression is that the U.S. and British delegations could not go further in The Hague than a rather vague resolution adopted in Montebello in 1983 and a communique of the Brussels summit meeting of March 1988 on the modernization of NATO nuclear weapon systems. The REUTER news agency pointed out that the NATO Nuclear Planning Group had not worked out a clear course of NATO actions on this problem.

The same as the Brussels document, The Hague communique gives an opportunity to the supporters of both points of view to announce their victory in the discussion. For instance, the final document of the Nuclear Planning Group says that the NATO nuclear force will be maintained on a modern level. This suits the U.S. However, obviously on the demand of other countries whose stand is more reserved, the words "wherever it is necessary" are added to this phrase.

The communique contains along with standard phrases about the "strategy of nuclear deterrence" and "the superiority of the Warsaw Treaty in conventional armaments" new provisions on the need for a "gradual approach" to military solutions "when they are necessary." The communique says point-blank that at the moment they are not necessary, which is the sign of the times.

One should not understate Washington's capacity to attain its military goals in NATO, because with the absence of a clear policy on nuclear rearmament the Pentagon can always apply a "broad interpretation" approach to the Montebello resolutions and deploy the types of nuclear armaments that it wants to deploy.

However, it is also obvious that as a result of the session of the Nuclear Planning Group Washington will have to postpone the taking of specific measures for the modernization of nuclear weapons in Europe, at least till the coming of office of a new president.

Pact Foreign Ministers Confer in Budapest

Meet With Hungary's Grosz

*PM3010134588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Oct 88 Second Edition p4*

[TASS report: "Conference of Foreign Ministers"]

[Text] Budapest, 28 Oct—A scheduled session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee opened in Budapest today.

The following are taking part in its work: Bulgarian Foreign Minister P. Mladenov, Hungarian Foreign Minister P. Varkonyi, GDR Foreign Minister O. Fischer, Polish Foreign Minister T. Olechowski, Romanian Foreign Minister I. Totu, USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze, and CSSR Foreign Minister J. Johanes.

The following topical issues are on the session agenda: strengthening European and universal peace, reducing armed forces and conventional arms, confidence- and security-building measures in Europe, economic cooperation, promoting the all-European process and building a "common European home," and consolidating positive changes and establishing the new thinking in international relations as a whole. The ministers will also examine questions of improving multilateral cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact.

The session has approved the statement on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

On the same day K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, had a meeting with the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers.

The meeting proceeded in a friendly, cordial atmosphere.

A dinner was given in honor of the participants in the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee session.

Statement on Security Measures

*PM2910201188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Oct 88 First Edition p 4*

["Statement on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe" issued by the Foreign Ministers Committee meeting in Budapest]

[Text] The Warsaw Pact member-states hold that confidence- and security-building measures are an important means and stimulating factor for solving problems connected with lessening the threat of war and achieving real disarmament, consolidation of peace, and stability in interstate relations.

The importance of these measures for the improvement of the political climate becomes particularly obvious as the accords registered in the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe adopted in September 1986 are implemented. The adoption of the Stockholm accords sets an example of how, given political will and the mutual efforts of all parties concerned in the spirit of new thinking, important matters of security can be resolved. The resumption of the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe and the continued implementation of the provisions of the Stockholm document broaden prospects for talks on more substantial confidence- and security-building measures, as well as on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

The further development of confidence- and security-building measures in Europe assumes special importance now that 23 members of the Warsaw Pact and NATO are prepared to embark on negotiations on armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, negotiations of a unique scale and importance. The allied socialist countries hold that there is an organic relationship between confidence- and security-building measures in the military area and efforts toward forces and arms reduction. Progress in the area of confidence- and security-building measures will facilitate progress in the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, the solution of other questions of disarmament which, in turn, would create favorable conditions for further confidence-building.

The Warsaw Pact foreign ministers believe that talks on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe must be continued in 1988. They must contribute to ensuring that the measures evolved ultimately encompass the activity of all branches of the armed forces (the ground forces, air force, and the navy) of the CSCE member-states in order to reduce the danger of an armed conflict breaking out in Europe, reduce and ultimately remove the threat of a surprise attack, strengthen mutual security, impart a strictly defensive nature to military activity, increase its openness and predictability, and promote the practical implementation of disarmament measures. The same aims would also be served by the creation of mechanisms and procedures for contacts and consultations on an equitable basis.

Confidence- and security-building measures must be applied to all military activity by the member-states when this activity affects security in Europe or constitutes part of such activity taking place within the confines of the whole of Europe. They must be substantial in content, effective from a military viewpoint, and politically binding.

Confidence- and security-building measures in the military area should be worked out and implemented consistently, taking into account the military and geographic realities of Europe, the level of mutual understanding among countries.

Being an important composite part of the European process, the talks should be conducted on the basis of the provisions of the Madrid mandate, including the objectives, principles, and subject of the talks envisaged by that mandate, the zone to which confidence- and security-building measures apply, procedural rules, and also in accordance with the final document of the Vienna meeting.

It would be expedient to continue the efforts for the development and broadening of confidence- and security- building measures agreed upon earlier and to work out a complex of new measures on the basis of the proposals of the participating states.

The accords being reached at negotiations of 23 and 35 countries should harmoniously concur, and supplement and enhance each other.

The Warsaw Pact member-states hold that the working out of specific confidence- and security-building measures of the new generation could proceed in the following fundamental directions.

1. Restrictive Measures [subhead]

Such measures would apply to the scope and number of simultaneous exercises, the duration and periodicity of exercises, as well as bans on major exercises and restrictions on movements of troops and equipment. These measures would also envisage a restriction on the number of alert exercises and the numerical strength of the troops taking part in them, the non-holding of a series of major exercises which could be general in intention, the manifestation of restraint in military activity close to borders of participating countries.

2. New Confidence- and Security-Building Measures [subhead]

Such measures would include notification of independent military activity of air forces and navies and the invitation of observers in accordance with definite parameters, agreed-upon measures of verification and restrictions on such activity as well as procedures for exchanging plans of this activity, the extension of confidence- and security-building measures to the territories of all countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the creation of zones of confidence and security in Europe and in the adjacent areas of water, the possibility of adopting confidence- and security-building measures envisaging a stricter regime with the approach to the lines of contact of the military-political alliances or other states. Measures for the prevention of incidents in areas of water adjacent to Europe and in the airspace over them would be agreed upon.

Various aspects of the military doctrines could be discussed and compared at the talks or in connection with them. It would also be possible to discuss the question of a freeze and reduction of military expenditures.

The Warsaw Pact member-states hold that the setting up in Europe of a center for the reduction of military danger and prevention of a surprise attack would be a qualitatively new step in consolidating mutual confidence in Europe. Such a center could be given functions in the area of information exchange, communications, and the holding of consultations relating, above all, to prompt elucidation of situations causing suspicion and concern.

3. Measures for Increasing Openness and Predictability in Military Activity: Monitoring, Verification, Exchange of Information and Consultations [subhead]

Such measures could include a regular exchange of information on armed forces and their activity, including forces deployed on bases around Europe, as well as information on the structure and composition of military budgets, the nonincrease of armed forces, the refraining from establishing new military bases in foreign territories, the creation of observation posts in the area of using confidence- and security-building measures in localities (points) to be agreed upon, the establishment of special rapid communication among the countries concerned, improving the conditions for the holding of inspections and widening of the possibilities for work of observers, the use of the latest technological means of verification such as automatic pick-ups and sensors, the development of contacts among political and military representative of participating countries, and the broadening of the exchange of military-diplomatic missions and visits of military delegations.

Other measures to improve mutual understanding and enhance confidence and security could be taken.

The ideas and proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries on confidence- and security-building measures are based on the defensive nature of their military doctrine. Their implementation is aimed at helping impart a strictly defensive character to the military potentials of the states participating in negotiations.

In this context the states represented at the meeting declare for the removal of military bases from territories of other states and confirm the immutability of their stand in favor of a simultaneous disbandment of the military-political alliances.

The Warsaw Pact member-states hold that the convocation of a European summit with the participation of the United States and Canada with a view to discussing the question of the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe would also promote working out and implementing a new set of confidence- and security-building measures.

The Warsaw Pact member-states are prepared to consider other possible proposals leading to the consolidation of mutual confidence and security and to accelerating the process of disarmament in Europe.

Communique Issued on Meeting
PM2910202588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Oct 88 First Edition p 4

["Communique of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee Session" held in Budapest 28-29 October]

[Text] The Foreign Ministers Committee of the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance held a regular meeting in Budapest on 28-29 October 1988.

The meeting was attended by Petur Mladenov, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Peter Varkonyi, foreign minister of the Hungarian People's Republic; Oskar Fischer, foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic; Tadeusz Olechowski, foreign minister of the Polish People's Republic; Ioan Totu, foreign minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Eduard Shevardnadze, foreign minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and Jaromir Johanes, foreign minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The ministers examined the development of the situation in Europe and the world. They noted that the judgments on the state and prospects of international relations, which were expressed at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw last July, hold well.

The Warsaw Pact member-states will continue doing everything in their power to ensure a real turnaround in world politics in the direction of strengthening peace; bringing about disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament; and launching wide-ranging and mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and all the other generally recognized principles and norms of international law.

Readiness was voiced to conduct dialogue with all states and political and public forces in the interest of achieving these goals.

Special attention at the meeting was paid to the issues of strengthening peace and cooperation in Europe based on the inviolability of borders and respect for the existing territorial-political realities.

The attending foreign ministers reiterated the desire of their countries to seek an early completion of the Vienna meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe with weighty, positive results.

Hence conditions would be created for opening, as early as this year, talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments and for starting negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe. An impetus would be given to broader cooperation in economic, commercial, scientific, and technological fields, in ecological security, in the humanitarian area, and in the implementation of human rights.

The meeting adopted a statement on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

The ministers stated that progress in settling regional conflicts is having a favorable impact on the situation in the world.

The participants in the meeting expressed a firm intention to develop and deepen cooperation between the allied socialist states in international affairs.

The meeting of the Foreign Ministers Committee passed in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely cooperation.

The next meeting is to take place in Berlin.

Shevardnadze Briefs Ministers
LD2910105688 Moscow TASS in English 1028 GMT
29 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest October 29 TASS—The conference of the Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers, which was held in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely cooperation, ended in Budapest today.

A joint communique was taken.

Speaking at a meeting of the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers, which was held in connection with their conference in Budapest, Eduard Shevardnadze informed his colleagues of the results of the official visit to the USSR by West German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. He noted the political importance and fruitful nature of the Soviet-West German talks and pointed to the importance of developing the political dialogue to promote the European process and to consolidate positive trends in international affairs.

Gerasimov Briefs Press at Foreign Ministry

Shevardnadze Receives PRC Official

LD3110131388 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT
31 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, today received Tian Zeng Pei, deputy foreign minister of China, who heads a Chinese Government delegation at the Soviet-Chinese talks on border issues.

Speaking at a news briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists today, a spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry noted in this connection that the conversation was marked by "mutual interest". The sides gave a positive assessment to the general course of the talks and stressed that progress in solving border issues helped "clear the accretions of the past", assert goodneighbourliness and build trust. The attention of the head of the Chinese delegation was drawn at the meeting to the initiatives made by the Soviet leadership in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk. They are aimed at improving the international climate and the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Gennadiy Gerasimov said the meeting also focused on the questions of development of Soviet-Chinese relations in the context of the first official visit by the Chinese foreign minister to the USSR which is due before the end of the year.

The Soviet spokesman also said that a third round of Soviet-Chinese talks on border issues took place in Moscow on October 20-31. The Soviet delegation was headed by Igor Rogachev, Soviet deputy minister of foreign affairs. The sides considered the questions of a demarcation line in the eastern part of the border and reached understanding as regards most sectors in this part of the border. The sides will continue discussions on the remaining sectors, on which no agreement has been reached.

At the same round of talks the delegations started considering the questions of a demarcation line in the western part of the border and agreed to form a working group for the purpose. Agreement was reached to hold a joint aerial photographic survey of a part of the Soviet-Chinese border. The Soviet spokesman called the atmosphere at the talks "businesslike and calm."

Geneva Talks Focus on Krasnoyarsk

LD3110124888 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT
31 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—Soviet and American experts began a meeting in Geneva today to discuss the issue of the Krasnoyarsk radar in eastern Siberia.

They will consider problems connected with implementing the Soviet proposal for setting up an international space research complex on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk radar, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said that the Soviet side would submit suggestions on the possible tasks of the international centre and ways of their implementation jointly with specialists from the United States and other countries.

He expressed the hope that the Geneva discussion would launch contacts among interested states both on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

NATO Group Sends 'Negative Signal'

LD3110134088 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT
31 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, has described as a negative signal plans of the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons discussed at a session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group. He spoke today at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists.

"In conditions of the process of limitation and elimination of mass destruction weapons developing in the European Continent any steps aimed at modernizing those weapons are not only short-sighted, but also dangerous from the military and political point of view", he said.

According to the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman, they "introduce a destabilizing moment in East-West relations". Gerasimov pointed out that the Soviet Union suggested a different approach, specifically, "to start talks on those weapons for the purpose of their reduction and elimination which could be held simultaneously with talks on conventional armaments".

Gorbachev, Dos Santos Hold Talks

LD2810153188 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT
28 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—The Soviet Union highly assesses the report by the U.N. secretary-general on the comprehensive system of world peace and security, circulated at the U.N. General Assembly session, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said: "We regard the document as an important step towards launching a broad international dialogue on ways and means to ensure international security on the basis of strict observance of the U.N. Charter and the enhancement of the role and efficiency of the organisation in maintaining international peace and resolving global problems of the present times."

While expressing optimism over the completion of the Vienna meeting on security and cooperation in Europe, the spokesman said, one could not fail to mention the remaining problems.

One of them was the Soviet Union's proposal for holding a humanitarian conference in Moscow. Opposition to that proposal came chiefly from the United States and Britain.

"A sound constructive approach to the Soviet proposal was being asserted ever more firmly in the other Western countries," Gerasimov said. "They seem to understand that the point at issue is, primarily, whether the mechanism of cooperation in the sphere of human dimensions within the CSCE framework will be launched."

The Foreign Ministry spokesman disclosed that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos, in the USSR on a brief working visit, discussed the situation in southern Africa and issues of bilateral Soviet-Angolan relations.

The sides showed mutual understanding on the problems discussed and stressed the need for the further development of cooperation.

The Angolan side thanked the Soviet Union for its support for the just cause of Angola.

Asked about the U.S. Administration's intentions to pull down the new building of the American Embassy in Moscow, Gerasimov remarked that this was up to the Americans.

"They themselves designed the building and built it with their own money. But there is a savour of anti-Sovietism in the entire affair.

"One can only regret that the outburst of spy scare and anti-Soviet rhetoric were taking place now, when the trend towards the normalization and improvement of Soviet-American relations was being shaped through concerted effort," he stated.

Kohl Visit 'Signal Event'

LD2810143488 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT
28 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman has described West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to the Soviet Union as a "signal event."

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said to Soviet and foreign journalists here today that the top leaders of the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany resumed political contacts at a crucial period and reaffirmed the intention to continue dialogue and cooperation and raise this cooperation to a qualitatively new level.

The profound positive turn in Soviet-West German relations, said the spokesman, presupposed respect for the existing European territorial and political realities.

The sides confirmed during the visit that the Moscow treaty remained to be the unshakable foundation for relations between the two countries.

By the number of practical results, the visit marked a major step towards implementing the goal formulated by Chancellor Kohl, that of "opening a new chapter in Soviet-West German ties," Gerasimov said.

Among Western countries West Germany was a leading trade and economic partner of the Soviet Union. That was why agreements in the sphere of economic cooperation between the two countries held a special place, he added.

Summing up the results of the visit, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stated that a good head-start for the forthcoming trip to West Germany by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and conditions for filling the visit with weighty political content had been made.

U.S., UK Oppose Moscow Forum

PM3010135188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Oct 88 Second Edition p4

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] At a scheduled briefing in the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center given on 28 October, G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, reminded Soviet and foreign journalists that, as they have already been informed, there are now no serious obstacles in the way of concluding the Vienna meeting at foreign minister level in November. While expressing optimism regarding its conclusion, he said, outstanding problems must be mentioned nevertheless. One of these problems is the Soviet Union's proposal to hold a humanitarian conference in Moscow. The main parties opposed to this idea are the United States and Britain. A sensible, constructive approach to the Soviet proposal is becoming stronger in other Western countries.

The chief of the information administration commented on the fact that the UN secretary general's report on the question of a comprehensive international peace and security system, prepared in accordance with the resolution of the 42d UN General Assembly session adopted at the initiative of a group of socialist countries, has been distributed within the United Nations. The Soviet Union is satisfied, he noted, by J. Perez de Cuellar's expressed willingness to assist the General Assembly in the discussion of this issue on an official and unofficial level. The distribution of the report can be seen as an important step on the way to developing a broad international dialogue on the ways and means of ensuring comprehensive security.

Gerasimov on 'Political Prisoners'

PM2810125388 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 44, 29 Oct-4 Nov (Signed to Press 27 Oct
88) 88 p 3

[Unattributed report on a briefing by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate: "Information"]

[Text] At a routine briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists, Information Directorate chief G. Gerasimov, replying to a question about the reasons why Academician Sakharov has been authorized to travel to the United States, made the following statement: Academician Sakharov is a member of the board of directors of the Foundation for the Survival and Development of Mankind—an international organization. He has been invited to attend a foundation meeting in Washington. When the foundation was set up, a USSR Council of Ministers resolution was adopted giving it legal status on the territory of the Soviet Union as an independent, nongovernmental international organization. Accordingly, the USSR Foreign Ministry is instructed to provide members of the board of directors and other foundation officials with Soviet entry and exit visas. Therefore, the Council of Ministers resolution of 28 August 1986, to the effect that citizens who are privy to state secrets are not allowed to leave the USSR on private business, has no bearing with regard to this trip.

G. Gerasimov was asked to comment on Chancellor H. Kohl's announcement at a Moscow press conference to the effect that during the talks he had formed the impression that the Soviet Union intends to release all political prisoners in the country before the end of the year. G. Gerasimov replied that the expression "political prisoners" is a term used in the West. They usually mean people convicted, under Articles 70 and 190 (1) of the RSFSR Criminal Code, of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Criminal legislation is being reviewed at the moment. There have been many announcements to the effect that these articles should be either repealed altogether or radically altered and qualified. The interpretation of anti-Soviet activity should be confined to calls for the violent overthrow of power.

The number of people convicted under the aforementioned articles is very negligible and I believe, G. Gerasimov said, that the question will be settled once and for all by the end of the year.

Letter Praises UN Human Rights Declaration

LD2910133688 Moscow TASS in English 1244 GMT
29 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—"The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the U.N. General Assembly 40 years ago is actually the first document which formulated a wide range of provisions dealing with the basic human rights and freedoms," says a letter

of the USSR parliamentary group handed in to Javier Perez de Cuellar, U.N. secretary general, Friday and circulated in Moscow today.

The declaration, the letter says, formed the basis of the activities of the United Nations Organization aimed at developing international cooperation in the humanitarian sphere.

The document points out that the declaration has made and continues to make a strong impact on the firm establishment of the principle of respect for human rights in international relations, in the legislation and legal practices of most members of the world community.

"The Soviet Union shares the objectives and principles of the universal declaration. It ratified human rights pacts and conventions connected with human rights. Work is under way in this country for bringing the domestic legislation in line with international commitments stemming from those documents. We urge other countries to follow a similar way," the Soviet parliamentarians write.

The Soviet Union is ready to develop broad bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the humanitarian sphere. We are encouraged by the trend towards constructive cooperation at humanitarian forums. We hope that this trend will continue to develop.

The USSR parliamentary group expresses confidence that with your active participation, Mr. Secretary General, the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will become an impetus to parliamentarians and governments of all countries making them remove the existing obstacles of the way to the exercise of human rights and further develop international cooperation in the humanitarian sphere.

U.S. Instigates Japanese Pressure on Philippines

PM2810115188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 27 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Crude Pressure"]

[Text] Tokyo, 26 Oct—The U.S. Administration has requested that Japan pressure the Philippines to ensure that a Philippine shipbuilding company does not accept orders to service Soviet civilian ships, according to KYODO reports citing U.S. Government circles.

The United States justified this inexcusable demand of its Far East partner by claiming that the acceptance of Soviet orders by the "Phileco" Shipbuilding Company, built with assistance from Japanese firms, allegedly threatens the "security" of the Subic Bay U.S. Naval Base located near the shipyard.

This is not the first attempt by Washington to use Japan's government to exert direct pressure on the Philippines in its own interests. According to KYODO, a few months ago the Pentagon tried to use the Japanese side as an intermediary to get the "Phileco" Company to accept orders to service U.S. warships. At the time, however, the news agency points out, Japan's government deemed it expedient to refrain from pressure on Manila.

United States & Canada

Commentary Regrets U.S. Decision on Moscow Embassy *LD2810211788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Oct 88*

[Text] As our newscasts have already reported, the U.S. President has made the decision to knock down the nearly completed U.S. Embassy building in Moscow and to rebuild it. Here, for your attention, is the latest news commentary. At the microphone is the author, Andrey Ptashnikov:

[Ptashnikov] First of all, I'd like to note that there has been no end to the sensational campaign over the new U.S. Embassy in Moscow for several years now. It is sometimes less, sometimes more intensive. It has now, evidently, reached its peak.

Let me briefly recall the essence of the claims being put forward by the White House. I'm only going to mention the most important. Official Washington asserts that the walls of the new embassy building are literally packed with every possible listening and spying device, installed by the KGB. As stated recently by one of the members of the U.S. Congress, these are so complicated that by comparison the most fantastic devices used by super spy James Bond look like children's toys. Well, thank you to the congressman for assessing the level of development of technology so highly.

However, even allowing that all this is the case, it is still, even in this event, hard to imagine that the Americans with the help of the means they possess, also the very latest available, have thus far been unable to uncover a single microphone immured in the wall, and having uncovered it, to present it as material evidence as we did 18 months ago when listening devices were discovered in the new USSR Embassy building in Washington. Who but the Americans are great experts in fanning different kinds of propaganda campaign and to a degree we, too, can learn this from them.

I can imagine the incredible fuss that would have been made, if even a suspicious piece of wire had been discovered in the new U.S. Embassy building in Moscow, not to mention a microphone. But there is nothing of the sort. Thus far all we are hearing is talk and conjecture, which have, nonetheless, given the U.S. President the grounds for making the decision to knock down the embassy building and to start consultations with Congress regarding the construction of a new one. Incidentally, the experts' preliminary calculations put the cost of all this work at about \$300 million.

As pointed out by a telegram from Washington that we received today, a final decision on the said issues will be made by the next U.S. President and the new, 101st, Congress. This is quite understandable in as much as there is less than 2 weeks left to the presidential elections in the United States. But perhaps it is precisely here that

the heart of the matter lies? After all, who can vouch for the fact that by such means, and I mean the present controversy over the Embassy, practically ex-President Reagan does not wish to give a final lesson to his successor: How to conduct affairs with the Russians. After all, he began his activity in the office of head of the White House by calling the USSR "the evil empire". Has he then, to the delight of the far right, decided to conclude it in the same spirit pushing into the background all the positive he has done to improve relations between our countries? If that really is so, it's a pity. It really is a pity.

Reagan Speech to World Affairs Council Reported *LD2910122388 Moscow TASS in English 0739 GMT 29 Oct 88*

[Text] Washington October 29 TASS—U.S. President Reagan on Friday addressed the Los Angeles World Affairs Council. He evaluated the foreign policy activity of his administration and dwelt in detail on those foreign policy objectives to which, as he put it, the next U.S. president should pay particular attention.

The President said that "our children might see 1988 as the turning point" in the struggle known as the Cold War. He noted the entrance into force of the historic agreement between the USSR and the United States on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and progress in settling regional conflicts. "So, whatever the future may hold, it's safe to say we have come a long way and this is a potent time".

President Reagan tried for one more time to explain "the extraordinary progress" made in world politics in recent years by the U.S. moves to build-up the military strength and "vigorous diplomatic engagement". He maintained that if Washington keep steering the position from strength policy, an agreement with the Soviet Union on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic arsenals could be "attainable in the next few years". At the same time, Reagan stressed that the United States "must aggressively pursue the research, development, and testing of our Strategic Defence Initiative".

He described his approach to Soviet-U.S. relations as a "forward strategy" in the name of freedom, which is based on the decisiveness to conduct affairs with the Soviet Union from the position of strength but in combination with a realistic and candid recognition of the differences between the two major powers in politics and world outlook.

'Attacks' Krasnoyarsk Radar

*LD3010030788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1745 MT 30 Oct 88*

[From the 'International Diary' program presented by Igor Charikov and Nikolay Agayants entitled "The World in the Mirror of Events: A Saturday Dialogue"]

[Excerpt] [Charikov] U.S. President Ronald Reagan, addressing representatives of a group of world affairs experts, stated that the Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic

offensive arms—called START for short in English—in the words of the head of the White House, were having amazing success at these talks. He added that the signature of a relevant agreement is a question for the not very distant future. True, President Reagan could not resist accusing us again of some sort of violation of the ABM Treaty. I mean about the same old Krasnoyarsk radar station that Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke about so precisely and clearly, saying that it would become an international center for space research.

Incidentally, it's hardly worth taking any thrusts and attacks by the current administration against us seriously now. All this rhetoric is clearly propagandistic and directly connected with the presidential elections taking place on 8 November, I think. [passage omitted]

Reagan Speech on Grenada 'Election Rhetoric'
PM2810170588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in
Russian 27 Oct 88 Second Edition p 3

[A. Makhov article: "Grenada: The Argument of Force?"]

[Text] When you read the speech delivered by President Reagan at the National Defense University near Washington this week, you have the impression that all this must have happened at least several years ago. The speech itself was pegged to the 5th anniversary of the U.S. armed invasion of Grenada. Naturally, it contained statements about the heroism of thousands of U.S. army and navy servicemen, marines, and airmen who managed to occupy the small island in the Caribbean. As always, there was talk of having rescued the inhabitants of this tiny state from "communist tyranny."

Another thought expressed by the President could be described as highly inappropriate in the present climate. It appears that during the years that followed the U.S. departure from Vietnam, U.S. leaders avoided the "battle for freedom" and that it was precisely the Grenada campaign which helped to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome." Reagan noted that "today the United States is with freedom-fighters all over the world." As an example of this support the President cited Washington's active assistance to the counterrevolutionary forces in Afghanistan, Angola, and Central America.

It seemed as if the speaker was simply unaware of the events of the past year. After all, his country signed the Geneva accords on the settlement in Afghanistan and the United States is one of the guarantors of the implementation of these accords, which, among other things, proscribe interference by third countries in the internal affairs of this sovereign state.

It appears that the President has also forgotten about the quadripartite talks on settling the situation in southern Africa. One of the key problems here is the refusal of the United States and the RSA to stop supporting the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] bandit formations.

Finally, Central America. Is the President not familiar with the text of the Guatemalan agreement signed more than a year ago, which clearly states that any support by foreign powers of irregular military formations (this refers above all to the Contras) is impermissible. I would like to recall that four of the five Central American states which signed this agreement are Washington's allies.

Incidentally, judging by appearances, it is precisely Central America, or rather Nicaragua, which, according to the plan of the White House incumbent, has been assigned the role of the second proving ground, after Grenada that is, for the eradication of the "Vietnam syndrome." Over the past 5 years constant military threats of a direct invasion by U.S. forces have been hurled at Nicaragua. And they are not empty threats but threats backed by very specific actions.

The question arises: Why does the U.S. President again need to exacerbate the situation around the world's conflict zones right now? Two reasons are distinctly discernible. During its last few weeks in power, the present administration clearly wants to try and unnerve the Sandinistas and gain specific political concessions from them by intimidating them with another threat of a direct U.S. invasion.

The second and probably more important reason is the fact that the U.S. election campaign has entered the decisive stage. It was no accident that Reagan especially stressed in his speech that the initial planning of the Grenada operation was carried out under the leadership of George Bush, the Republican Party nominee in the presidential elections. This, according to Reagan, should win Bush the votes of chauvinistically minded voters who thirst to see a strong America both in the past and in the future. Let us hope that Reagan's speech was no more than election rhetoric. This is truly a case where it is better if the words diverge from the actions.

Further on Speech

LD2610104588 Moscow TASS in English 1022 GMT
26 Oct 88

[Text] Washington October 26 TASS—TASS correspondents Igor Ignat'yev and Vladimir Matyash report:

President Ronald Reagan made a speech at the National Defence University at Fort McNair near Washington on Tuesday. The speech was timed for the fifth anniversary of the U.S. armed invasion of Grenada.

He reiterated the previous official version through which Washington tried to justify in the eyes of international community the glaring act of unprovoked armed aggression which had been committed against the tiny island state in the Caribbean for the purpose of stifling the Grenadian revolution.

He asserted, in particular, that "A Marxist regime had been established" in that corner of the world and that it had given rise to "growing alarm" in other countries of the region.

Reagan said the U.S. leadership had been concerned about the lives and safety of a thousand Americans in Grenada, most of whom had been medical students.

However, the facts which have become known to the public over the past five years are an evidence of something diametrically opposite.

At a trial of 18 former members of the revolutionary government of Grenada in St. George's, Pime James who headed the Grenadian security service, stated that the United States had deliberately provoked the political crisis on the island, the crisis which led to the death of the country's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, and had used it as a pretext for the direct armed aggression against the independent state.

As far as the White House's assertions about a "threat" to the life of American students are concerned, the Washington-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs has repeatedly adduced proofs that the U.S. Administration intentionally had not taken any possible steps to ensure the students' evacuation in good time but, rather, had hindered it in every way.

Reagan acknowledged that many in the United States even now continue to question whether the USA had done the right thing in Grenada and whether Grenada had really posed a strategic threat to the United States. But the president did not try to dispel the doubts. Instead he emphasized that over the years that had passed since the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam the American leaders, it seems, had shied from "freedom's battles".

It followed from Reagan's subsequent pronouncements that the Grenadian venture had been designed to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome". The President pointed out that around the world the United States "stands today with those who would fight for freedom". As an example of such support he cited Washington's active aid to counter-revolutionary forces in Afghanistan, Angola, and Central America who, as he put it, "have the courage to take up arms against communist tyranny".

"Today", the U.S. President said, "We commemorate that mission and the heroism of the thousands of soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen who took part" in the invasion and occupation of Grenada. However, this

time, too, the president passed over in silence the American military atrocities against the civilian population of the island, the concentration camps in which the supporters of the revolutionary government of Maurice Bishop had been kept, and the present day critical state of the Grenadian economy.

Reagan's speech at Fort McNair was of an obviously propagandistic character and it is perfectly clear that it was intended for manipulating the American electorate on the eve of the November presidential elections. This is indicated, in particular, by the fact that already at the very beginning of his speech he specially pointed out that the initial planning had been conducted under the supervision of Vice President George Bush who is now the Republican presidential nominee.

TASS Cites Shultz on U.S.-Soviet Relations
*LD3010134288 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT
30 Oct 88*

[Text] San Francisco October 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Algunov:

Enormous changes underway in the international situation at present will require of the United States a change of its ways of thought and action, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said in his speech in the Commonwealth Club of California here.

"Major developments undeniably are taking place inside the Soviet Union," Shultz said. He stressed that the direction now followed by the USSR "is one we welcome". This, he said, "can benefit not only the Soviet people, but all the nations of the world". Shultz stressed both countries should pursue efforts in the name of a better and safer future.

Touching on the course toward the USSR, Shultz said that the principle of realism, strength and diplomacy should underlie it as before. The United States "will continue to measure progress in U.S.-Soviet relations through progress on human rights, on regional conflicts, on arms control, and on bilateral relations". The U.S. Secretary of State tried to prove that the Soviet military might was an impediment to the positive development of bilateral relations. He emphasized, however, that Washington itself intended to rely in its approach to the USSR on the build-up of military strength. In his speech Shultz dwelt on the danger of the spread of sophisticated missile technology and the use of chemical weapons in the world. In such conditions, he said, the emerging conflicts may become far more difficult to contain and settle.

Shultz's speech in San Francisco capped a series of lectures in which the secretary of state summed up the results of the foreign policy activity of the Reagan administration.

Commentary Assesses Carlucci Near East Tour
LD2910191288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1930 GMT 28 Oct 88

[Boris Andrianov commentary]

[Text] The Pentagon chief does not turn up in the Near East all that often—not as often, for instance, as Secretary of State Shultz. So it is natural that many foreign observers are paying attention to this trip by Carlucci, during which he'll be visiting Jordan, Egypt, and Israel.

What, then, has prompted the U.S. Defense secretary to go to the Near East? Perhaps one should look for the answer to that question in his statement a week ago to members of the National Council for American-Arab Relations: We need, Carlucci said, a new sense of realism regarding the strategic aims of U.S. policy in the Near East. It might seem at first glance that the Pentagon boss is advocating new political thinking in the approach to the problems existing in that strategically important part of our planet. Hitherto, Washington has pursued its course aimed at unconditional support of Israel's aggressive policy toward neighboring Arab countries. So can it be that Carlucci thinks it's time the U.S. Administration at last renounced that line in the Near East?

Let me say bluntly that there is not the slightest reason to suppose that he does. But in that case, what is one to make of this new sense of realism proclaimed by the U.S. defense secretary? In his own words, it by no means signifies that Washington is going to alter the character of its relations with Israel—the strategic ally of the United States in Near East. By a new sense of realism, Frank Carlucci means a slightly different approach to deliveries of U.S. arms to that part of the world.

What is the reason for this? The reason is, in part, that Saudi Arabia for example has warned the Reagan Administration of its unwillingness to go on asking the United States to supply certain new weapon systems. It had previously made several such requests, in view of the growing military threat from Israel. But the pro-Israel groupings in the U.S. Congress had blocked such demands by Saudi Arabia. And then that country, in July of this year, concluded a deal with Britain for the supply of the necessary arms. Together with another agreement which Riyadh signed with London a year earlier, the total value of the arms purchases will amount to \$68 billion. You can imagine how this has incensed the U.S. arms barons, who have missed an opportunity to make money themselves. Now, they have evidently put pressure on the Washington Administration, which has accordingly proclaimed a new sense of realism in its approach to the sale of arms to the Arab countries of the Near East. So that picture that emerges is that the Pentagon boss is going there as a sort of travelling salesman for the U.S. arms industry.

U.S. Presidential Election Campaign Viewed

Candidates Sidestep Issues

PM271012762188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Oct 88
p 3

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Sisnev: "Zigzags of Election Campaign"]

[Excerpts] Washington, October—Two rounds of television debate between Republican presidential candidate George Bush and Democratic contender Michael Dukakis, governor of Massachusetts, as well as one round between the vice-presidential contenders have been held. Before the White House contenders' second duel Barry Goldwater, patriarch of Washington politics, a conservative, and guardian of American institutions, said: "No, I will not be listening to them the second time round, they talk—the devil take them—about everything, except what interests real people!"

When old Barry sought presidential office he behaved in precisely the same way. But now that he is on the political sidelines he sees things in a normal way and naturally is irritated by a 2-hour talking shop where the participants in the dialogue merely seek to score points off each other and sidestep most real problems rather than uncovering them.

Problems do not thereby disappear. Nor do questions about how specifically the person who occupies the country's highest office intends to deal with them. These questions could be put by the journalists who carry out the television questioning. But the preconditions are that they are not entitled to seek clarification: You ask the question once and have to be content with that. Bush, for example, has promised to create 30 million extra jobs (!), but he did not once find the time to explain how exactly he was going to do that.

Dukakis also has a fundamental weak point. Sharply, and correctly, criticizing Republicans for indifference to the "little man" he promises that as president he will pay the utmost attention to him. But the governor stubbornly refuses to say where the money for this is coming from. Bush, however, has stated categorically on many occasions, and this is music to the ears of the taxpayer, that is to say, the bulk of Americans, that he will in no circumstances raise taxes. No matter whom you talk to, everyone knows that this, like the mythical 30 million jobs, is a joke. A serious politician cannot give such guarantees, but that is the way America is. As a result the Republicans have, according to the opinion polls, always been several points ahead of the Democrats in the popularity stakes. According to Gallup, they are presently running a clear 17 points ahead. [passage omitted]

Reagan's economic concept of "prosperity through borrowing" that has become known as "Reaganomics" has cost each of his fellow-countrymen \$3743. Every American would find something to spend that on. But it does

not stop there. There is also the federal—statewide—debt, the interest on which amounts to around \$150 billion annually, and that too is derived from the same far from bottomless source. And yet just 20 years ago the entire federal budget did not exceed \$100 billion. "Star wars" and all the other favorite toys of the White House boss cost the "little man" dearly.

Where do you get the resources here for those aims which the labor unions consider urgent priorities? Contrary to Bush, who boasts of the "growth in prosperity" under the Republican administration, the labor unions have no right to forget that America has lost 1.9 million of the best, most highly paid, jobs in the manufacturing industry and coalmining during those same 8 years. Those which have "replaced them," generally in the services and commercial sphere, pay much less. Bush can afford to ignore the social statistics, but the labor unions know that more than 3 million working people have gone into lower-paid jobs under the Republicans and will never get back.

The labor unions are asking not only about the number of jobs but, and perhaps more insistently, about their quality. The best jobs are disappearing to Mexico, South Korea, and other places where work is paid for in cents rather than dollars.

But does this mean that all the disadvantaged and aggrieved will be simultaneously making their way to the polling stations on 8 November to install Dukakis in the presidential suite? The whole point is that there is no guarantee of victory. And Dukakis knows this better than anyone. In the interview mentioned above (in machinists' newspaper *THE MACHINIST*), he literally beseeched people: "It is absolutely essential that every member of your labor union and their families not only take part in the voting but also organize and rally other voters." Running ahead, I would say that at least 1 million labor union activists are working on Dukakis' behalf in the election period. Half of them have been organized by the AFL-CIO, the remainder by independent associations.

But the specifics of America need to be taken into account. Only 53 percent of the electorate voted at the 1984 elections, the remainder for a variety of reasons, mainly lack of faith in the procedure and indifference, did not show. And it suits the Republicans down to the ground that this torpor be maintained, for such conditions afford them a greater chance of victory, they have a reliable backbone of support—the "middle class," as it is called—who will certainly vote for them. But if the Democrats, working with the labor unions, do manage to swing even another 5 points their way, then I wouldn't be too sure... It is worth remembering that Kennedy came to power with a majority of scarcely half a million.

Dukakis is counting on people being moved to vote for him not so much for his personal qualities but out of need, as it were. A need for changes on the Washington

stage, where the same old artistes have been appearing for too long. A genuine need, not a need invented by newspapermen or labor unionists, for a renewal of Uncle Sam's social priorities.

But I remember the words I heard from a journalist here: "Dukakis, Dukakis... But you don't know the American mentality. Many people will suddenly collect themselves at the last moment in the voting booth and say: 'Dukakis? A Greek? Not a Protestant or even a Catholic? And what's more his wife is Jewish, isn't she? I think I'll vote for regular guy Bush, things will be quieter then...'"

In short, we'll have to wait till November, it is not too far off.

Candidates' Strategy Assessed

OW2910054988 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1150 GMT 27 Oct 88

[From the "World Today" program presented by Igor Fesunenکو]

[Text] Less than 2 weeks are left to the U.S. presidential elections. The contestants are now in the home stretch, with each step taking them closer to the finish line. Tension keeps mounting.

Michael Dukakis, realizing that recent public opinion polls show a marked preference for Bush, has decided to go for broke. With this aim in mind, he decided, in the time that is left, to make a decisive television offensive against his opponent's positions and convince Americans to take another, objective look at himself and at Bush, before voting.

At the end of last week Dukakis made a television appearance in which he said that Bush's critical remarks in his direction are full of lies. This concerns Dukakis' attitude toward national defense and crime fighting. However, as one of election campaign specialists said, this, undoubtedly, is a good move in the final stretch, but it would have been better if it was resorted to right from the beginning. [Video shows Dukakis addressing voters, shaking hands]

Republicans have not been slow to retaliate. Bush, speaking on television, is making increasingly strong attacks on his opponent. [Video shows Bush on a rostrum] The behavior of the two candidates in the course of the election campaign is causing increased disappointment among many Americans. As a *NEWSWEEK* public opinion poll shows, almost 75 percent, or three-quarters of all Americans, feel that the candidates only say that which is profitable for winning votes and avoid many important topics which are of concern to the rest of America. That is why the American voter turnout on 8 November, as some specialists predict, may turn out to be the lowest in the century.

We shall see what happens on 8 November, and find out on 9 November, if this sad prediction turns out to be true.

Soviet Coverage Criticized

PM2710145688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 42, 16 Oct 88 p 3

[Melor Sturua article: "Line-Counts and Elections"]

[Text] During the personality cult, apart from ordinary newspaper censorship and the notorious "internal censor", there also existed the censorship of the line-measure, or the ruler, used to count newspaper lines.

In those years, the line-measure was a political matter, not a printer's trick. If Hitler's speech in the Reichstag and Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons appeared in the same issue, the line-measure made sure the line-counts were identical. They say that Stalin himself strictly monitored those line-counts. (The journalist's job wasn't difficult since TASS produced its materials well in advance, and they dovetailed perfectly with one another. Nothing was changed in them. It was strictly forbidden to write headlines which revealed the meaning of the article.)

I mention this because our press is currently devoting lavish amounts of space to the U.S. presidential campaign. Reading the pieces it is impossible not to wonder at the balancing skills of the authors: symmetrical headlines and subheads, identical numbers of lines devoted to each presidential candidate, and a deliberately off-handed tone as if the authors weren't people but elements "of an indifferent nature".

Just a printer's trick? No, again it's politics. For decades we have repeated the significant but meaningless phrase that the U.S. presidential elections are an internal affair and that we have no intention of interfering. Of course, presidential elections in the USA as in any other country, are an internal affair. To interfere is out of the question.

But does this mean we have to regulate the number of lines assigned each candidate? Is such symmetry really a sign of impartiality? Is this symmetry or this impartiality necessary? After all, these articles are not official documents which reflect the official point of view. Don't the authors have their own opinions, or at least their own purely human sympathies or antipathies? Of course, they do. Then what's the matter?

One of the stereotypes entrenched in our international journalism holds that kind words addressed to any presidential candidate may create a proper mess. Rival candidates will allegedly, take advantage of our kind words and try to discredit the opponent who "merited the praise" of the Soviet press.

What about this argument? First, it is a fragment of the old political thinking which has eaten into our brains like coal dust into a miner's hands. Second, it reflects a rather vague idea about the US political mechanism. Does anyone seriously believe that the Soviet press can make or break US presidents? That is, to put it mildly, nonsense! Nobody has such power—even, it would seem, the omnipotent American press.

In reality, the line-measure principle harms not US presidential candidates but ourselves—those who write and who read these articles. It prevents thorough analysis and emotional comprehension of the gist. Now we are urging people to renounce the "enemy stereotype" and tolerate a pluralism of views. The line-measure principle is also another stereotype we inherited from the past which we cannot be guided by or feel proud of. It levels pluralism. The question is: why can't Soviet journalists write on world affairs and political scientists have their own, even conflicting views about who they would prefer to see in the White House? Isn't it obvious that such a clash of opinions would only enrich the paper and inform readers better?

The line-measure principle is an anachronism and it is high time to jettison it along with other stereotypes from the personality cult and stagnation periods.

The reader raises his ironic voice: "That's fine, dear author, but why don't you set an example and forget this hateful line-measure!"

Consider it done. Personally I prefer Dukakis, but I think Bush will win.

U.S. Space Shuttle Launch Delayed

LD3010093488 Moscow TASS in English 0807 GMT
30 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 30 TASS—The U.S. space shuttle Atlantis, whose launch was planned for late November, will be delivered to the launch pad two days later than scheduled, Lisa Malone, a representative of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), reported. She said the delay was caused by mechanical malfunctions detected by engineers of the control service.

The upcoming flight of the Atlantis will be carried out exclusively for military purposes and will take place amid tight security. To this end, NASA and the Pentagon worked out special regulations which were tested during the previous two launches under the programme of the military establishment.

So, even though the date of the blast-off will be named, its exact time will be announced only nine minutes before the spaceship take-off. Eight and a half minutes later information about it will not be transmitted. Only brief news items that Atlantis and its crew are still in

space will be broadcast every 24 hours. No information will be released about the placing of a reconnaissance satellite in orbit, which is one of the crew's tasks.

The news of the landing can be learnt not earlier than 16 hours before the scheduled time. No meetings and talks of representatives of the press with the spacecraft's crew of five career military men are envisaged.

Plans for Space Test of SDI Laser Noted
PM2810165188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "The Star Wars Path"]

[Text] New York, 22 Oct—The Strategic Defense Initiative Organization has made the decision to place into orbit a 50-tonne space platform carried in sections on board two "Titan-4" rockets. The plan is to mount on the platform an "Alpha" chemical laser—one of the key elements of the "star wars" program, which provides for the deployment of strike armaments in space.

The laser is due to be placed in orbit by the end of 1993. That is when it is planned to carry out the first test in space of this weapon designed to destroy ICBM's. As for ground-based experiments, they have been in full swing in the Californian laboratories of the Martin Marietta corporation for the past 2 years. The deployment of the "Alpha" laser is scheduled during the second stage of the implementation of the "star wars" program.

The plans to build a powerful new delivery vehicle which, according to previous plans, was to carry the platform for the "Alpha" laser into space have been canceled, according to AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY, for economic reasons. Many congressmen dislike the SDI program particularly because of the prospect of the enormous costs of creating an ABM defense in space.

U.S. Prohibits Entry of Nicaraguan Officials
LD2510224788 Moscow TASS in English 2201 GMT
25 Oct 88

[Text] Washington October 26 TASS—President of the United States Ronald Reagan signed on Tuesday a proclamation which prohibits the entry to the USA of officials representing the Nicaraguan Government and the Farabundo Marti Sandinist National Liberation Front. Signing the document, the head of the U.S. Administration said that it is a reply to the Sandinist government's decision of July 11 to expel from Nicaragua the U.S. ambassador and seven other U.S. representatives, even though on next day, July 12, Reagan ordered that the Nicaraguan ambassador and the same number of staffers of the Nicaraguan embassy be expelled from the USA.

Groundlessly blaming the present state of relations between the two countries on the Nicaraguan leadership President Reagan emphasized he had decided that the interests of the USA would be suited by certain restrictions on the entry of representatives and employees of the Nicaraguan Government and the Sandinist National Liberation Front to the USA.

At the same time this does not mean a rupture of diplomatic relations. Reagan's proclamation which goes into effect at once, does not apply to staffers of the Nicaraguan missions and their families that enjoy diplomatic immunity.

Program on Kennedy Assassination Reviewed
LD2610130088 Moscow TASS in English 1232 GMT
26 Oct 88

[Text] London October 26 TASS—"The Men Who Killed Kennedy" was a two-hour documentary film shown on the Central Television of Britain (the ITV network) on Tuesday.

The film was co-authored by the programme's British director Nigel Turner and American publicist Steve Rivele on the strength of a four-year investigation of facts concerning the tragic events of November 22, 1963, when U.S. President John F. Kennedy had been assassinated.

The documentary claims that three French gangsters hired by an American organised crime syndicate killed the U.S. president. It names one of them as Lucien Sarti who can no longer confirm or deny the assertions in the film because he was shot dead in Mexico in 1972. The documentary says the other two are still alive and are in the French port city of Marseilles.

The REUTER news agency reports that high ranking officers of the French police expressed doubt about the credibility of the assertions by the authors of the television film. The opinion of the leadership of the French service for combatting drug trafficking is that it is hard to believe that it was within the power of gangsters from Marseilles to commit such a crime.

Steve Rivele told journalists he had informed the U.S. authorities of these findings. However, no steps had been taken with regard to the French terrorists. Death threats had been made against Rivele by unidentified persons.

Paris October 26 TASS—The French Antenne-2 television network has pointed out that assassination of John F. Kennedy was among the most mysterious ones in the current century and would hardly be uncovered completely.

In the opinion of the London correspondent of the TV network, the documentary looks convincing. However, it lacks conclusive evidence of the correctness of the new theory. Neither is there a clear answer to the question who had ordered to assassinate the U.S. president.

A special correspondent of the Antenne-2 scrutinized the biographies of the suspected French criminals and arrived at a conclusion that they could hardly be in Dallas in November 1963 where John F. Kennedy was assassinated.

U.S. Grain Magnate on Satellite Photography Deal
PM2610162588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 26 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by V. Shcherban: "Behind the Space Contract"]

[Text] Miron Lazerson [name as published], chief of the U.S. "Contitrade Services Corporation" concern, through whom our country is buying grain from the United States, has struck a deal with the "Soyuzkarta" foreign trade firm. This time the grain king, as Lazerson is called on the other side of the Atlantic, has come to buy from "Soyuzkarta" photographs taken in orbit by Soviet satellites and to sell space information to practically the entire Western world.

We met with Mr Lazerson.

[Lazerson] Over a period of 5 years we will be able to buy very high-resolution space photographs from the Soviet Union and sell them at home and also in Canada, South America, and the Caribbean countries... It is a business with a future. There is a lot of room for using the information. The space probe materials help to identify land suitable for cultivation and irrigation and natural feed and water resources. Finally, given the right methods, the space photographs will make it possible to discover geological structures with oil, coal, or gold potential...

[Shcherban] How much grain is our country buying from the United States? What do the dynamics of these purchases demonstrate?

[Lazerson] Over the past 10 years we have sold 13-15 million tonnes of wheat and pulses to the Soviet Union each year. Supplies of 9-12 million tonnes of grain to the USSR annually over a 5-year period are currently being negotiated. I think that Russia will be buying grain for another 10-15 years.

It is my belief that closer contacts are needed at various levels in the agricultural production sphere.

[Shcherban] There have been positive changes in our agriculture recently that make it possible to hope that we will be obtaining more grain. So we will be buying less. That being so, could the grain king become a cropper in Russia?

[Lazerson] I have no such fears. You are short of agricultural products at the moment. But if the situation gets better in the very near future, I believe new points of contact—trade and cooperation—will be found in relations between us.

Trade Exhibition To Open in New York
LD2710111188 Moscow TASS in English 1048 GMT
27 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Makurin:

One of the largest Soviet trade and industrial exhibitions, oriented towards expanding Soviet exports to the USA, will open at the Jacob Javitz exhibition hall in New York on December 14. This was officially announced at a news conference here organized by the US-USSR Trade and Economic Council (USTEC). A similar American exhibition is scheduled to be held later in the Soviet Union.

Forty eight Soviet foreign trade organizations, leading industrial enterprises, as well as a number of cooperatives and newly established joint ventures will take part in the New York exhibition. More than 4,000 exhibits, ranging from toys to high-capacity computers and tractors, will occupy an area of 2,000 square meters.

It is unique in that it will be financed for the first time in the history of such representative and serious exhibitions by the exhibitors rather than the state. They must be sure that the products they bring are comparable with world's highest standards and find customers on the American market. Otherwise they will incur losses.

The possibilities for a sizable increase in mutually advantageous business relations with the USSR are great, said USTEC President James Griffin, who is head of the financial corporation Mercador. Trade turnover could reach in the nearest future 12 billion dollars. Noting an increase in the number of American businessmen visiting the Soviet Union today, he made a point of emphasizing that the overwhelming majority came to the conclusion that the development and extension of all-round cooperation was not only feasible but even necessary. In this connection he spoke out in favor of cancelling discriminatory measures on trade with the USSR and of normalizing business cooperation.

U.S., Soviet Academics on Economic Ties
PM2110133588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 20 Oct 88 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with Professors D. Wallace and V. Mozolin by A. Bogomolov: "To Wait or To Act. Professors D. Wallace (United States) and V. Mozolin (USSR) Discuss Prospects for Soviet-U.S. Economic Relations"; date and place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] How can we accelerate the setting up of joint enterprises and increase their contribution to restructuring our economy so that we can experience real benefits

from their activity in the very near future? The participants in the second Soviet-U.S. symposium "Legal Regulation of the Creation and Activity of Joint Enterprises in the USSR and the United States," which took place recently in Moscow and Riga, examined precisely these problems. Don Wallace, director of the International Law Institute and professor at Georgetown University, and Professor Viktor Pavlovich Mozolin, a Soviet lawyer and sector chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, were cochairmen at the meeting. At the end of the symposium SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's correspondent met with them.

[Bogomolov] On the basis of the considerable economic potential of our two countries, one might have expected—in the view of nonspecialists—a more intensive creation of joint Soviet-U.S. enterprises. Only seven of them exist today. Moreover, with all due respect to our partners, agreements have been concluded with secondary companies. Major firms with world-famous names are still on the sidelines. What is going on here?

[Wallace] I believe that the main question is time. Discussions on joint enterprises only began, in my opinion, in 1987, and formulating plans for any enterprise always takes a long time. But there is also another reason for this.

For many years the economic contacts which existed between our countries were very insignificant. Now the political climate has noticeably warmed. Our businessmen, however, are simply unfamiliar with your conditions. Not all potential partners in the United States know about those positive changes which are taking place in the Soviet Union thanks to restructuring, and they are not sure what awaits them in this country.

It is understandable that the USSR, in advocating the establishment of joint enterprises, is seeking to obtain modern equipment and technology, to attract foreign capital, and so on. For foreign firms the main attraction is the gigantic Soviet market. When it is a question of setting up enterprises in your country to produce equipment or consumer goods for your market, then this attracts many firms. But if this enterprise will be geared toward producing output for West Europe, then this forces people to think and consider: After all, it can be made in Turkey or West Germany.... This is something to be worked on.

[Mozolin] One cannot talk about joint enterprises as if they are separate from the processes under way in the Soviet Union. Joint enterprises are and will be a part of our economy. During the first stages of our restructuring, U.S. big business is watching the progress of events and biding its time. It wants to be certain that the positive changes in the economy take deep root and are oriented

toward developing long-term economic ties in conditions of good political relations between our two countries. If big business gets involved in cooperation, then it makes large investments—and it doesn't want to risk them.

Second, these joint ventures are still operating at quite a low technological level on both sides. We have always prided ourselves on the fact that there is a great reserve of scientific developments in the Soviet Union. But the problems of the practical application of these scientific developments leave us dissatisfied. In addition to producing consumer goods, we would now like to develop high-technology enterprises where our scientific achievements would be combined with U.S. technology.

Third, the processes of our bilateral joint ventures should be regarded as a part of the international division of labor which takes place in the world. Via joint enterprises we are entering a world market where there is fierce competition and which is difficult to penetrate. So there are particular complications, especially at the first stage of adjustment to the laws of the developed world market.

[Bogomolov] What new directions of economic cooperation between the USSR and the United States do you foresee?

[Wallace] Both the United States and the USSR are developing a multitude of new technologies. But all our contacts are reduced to primitive trade on the "wheat for furs" principle. How will the situation develop further? I take the liberty of supposing that a lot here depends on you—what you want to obtain from the Americans.

For example, we have paid a lot of attention to the practice of disseminating our goods and services worldwide—take McDonalds, candy bars, jeans, chewing gum. Recently this involves, to an ever increasing degree, athletic goods produced in the United States. Why don't you make use of this experience?

The main volume of trade in the world is generated by countries with the same advanced economic development. It is not ties between North and South, rich and poor. The United States' main economic partners are West Europe, Canada, and Japan. I believe that this position is also applicable to the Soviet Union.

As far as specific spheres of our economic relations... I am not an economist but I can list the most obvious ones: equipment for the petroleum and gas industry, sectors for the production of foodstuffs, hotel management, banking and finance....

[Mozolin] I would like to return to the first question. It is a question of two great powers which in principle can support themselves. So it is not easy to talk about

possible long-term spheres of cooperation. The role of science here is great; our task is to compile a scientific forecast of future joint ventures.

In other words, not only to talk about where to open a cafe or build the next shoe factory, but to compile a forecast for 10-20 years ahead and define in it promising spheres of cooperation, taking into account the international division of labor, our two countries' roles, and the prospects for Soviet-economic [as published] ties, both political and economic. I think this will not only enable us to maintain the political relaxation in relations between our two countries but will also create a definite scientific and technical base for the governments' practical actions in the economic sphere.

[Bogomolov] It is well known that U.S. legislation contains a number of provisions which limit the transfer or sale of certain goods and technology to our country. The activity of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [Cocom] the organization uniting the leading Western countries—serves the same "prohibitive" purposes. This practice is bound to impede joint ventures. What are the prospects for easing these bans?

[Wallace] This is a difficult question. I think that the Soviet Union can indeed supply itself with all the essentials. But taking into account the increasing interdependence of national economies, this now accords less and less with reality. The Soviet Union will be increasingly involved in the world economy, like the United States and its trading partners. Your country's involvement in the activity of the World Bank (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) and GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) is on the agenda. In that event the USSR will become an equal trading partner of the United States, and the GATT provisions will limit Washington's chances for imposing limits on trade with you.

Furthermore, the United States is also undergoing transformations which we, it is true, do not call restructuring. They are caused by increasing competition on the world market from West Europe and Japan. A fierce competitive struggle for markets is going on, and from this viewpoint, taking into account your potential, all these limitations will conflict increasingly with the realities.

I am not suffering from childish optimism. I think that some limits on advanced technology will remain for some time to come; but even now many U.S. businessmen are eager to sell you their products, but our laws and Cocom lists hold them back. These people are putting pressure on the administration, forcing it to gradually narrow its prohibited list. If we refuse to sell you something today, then considering science and technology's fast pace of development, in 2-3 years the Soviet Union will itself create these goods or technology. So why not do business now, why delay?

Most-favored-nation status. The Soviet Union, in contrast to the majority of U.S. trading partners, does not have this status. This means that Soviet goods are liable to higher duties in the United States. This position is connected with the so-called Jackson-Vanick amendment which made the granting of most-favored-nation status to the USSR dependent on the liberalization of its emigration policy. This is a purely political act which does not make economic sense. I believe that in the event the USSR joins GATT, this question will also be resolved.

There is still a series of legislative limitations on trade, but they are directed not only against the USSR but also against other U.S. partners as part of the measures to protect the U.S. market against dumping.

In general, I would like to say that when your country enters the world market as a partner enjoying full rights (and joint enterprises will be able to accelerate this process), it will take an active interest in the free movement of trade and services and so assist the development of the concept of an open world market. The present limitations will fade away of their own accord since not a single country, not even the United States, will be able to prevent some commodities or other from appearing on the Soviet market.

[Mozolin] Of course, it is difficult for me to make judgments about the fate of these amendments and laws which discriminate against the USSR. But it seems to me that the question of their future fate depends on how our restructuring progresses. If we are successful, they will have no significance given that we will develop healthy competition with other countries. When we create joint enterprises with the United States, we say that this is not to the detriment of Japan or West Europe. If we enter the external market with advanced technological potential, then we will place the United States in such a position that it will not be to its advantage to maintain these restrictions.

One more observation as regards discriminatory measures: The reason for them does not lie in the policy of one administration or another. They are relics of the cold war and distrust. But I believe that when we display a MiG at the Farnborough air show, this is a good example of openness and trust.

[Wallace] You have rightly said that all these laws are a result of the cold war, which lasted for so long. Today, increasing protectionism, arising from the desire to defend our economy and market from more efficient competitors, is also being added to its burdensome legacy.

But I think that in our bilateral contacts we will be able to overcome existing obstacles or those which may arise. A great deal depends on your restructuring. U.S. business, in the form of those seven joint enterprises which

exist today, is incapable of having any noticeable influence on the progress of restructuring. But when the structure itself changes and the way your economy functions also changes as a result of restructuring, new joint enterprises will emerge and our contacts in the economic sphere will expand qualitatively. Then the roots which feed the forces of cold war and hostility between the Soviet and American peoples will finally be eliminated.

TASS on Whale-Saving Operation

*LD2810145988 Moscow TASS in English 1443 GMT
28 Oct 88*

[Text] Vladivostok October 28 TASS—There were only 300 metres left for the California grey whales to cover before they reach clear and deep waters. The whales were trapped in ice at Point Barrow, off the north Alaskan coast.

The Admiral Makarov icebreaker and the Vladimir Arsenyev electrically driven motorboat of the USSR that were closer to Point Barrow than other Soviet ships came to the assistance of the whales at the request of the U.S. Coastal Guard.

They took all the necessary measures together with American specialists. The Vladivostok Rescue Coordination Centre reports that the Vladimir Arsenyev made rather quickly a passage in the ice which was connected with a canal cut in the ice by dwellers of the Barrow village. The ice there was 40 cm thick. Everybody rejoiced at seeing the whales diving and then moving forward. The impression was that they were out of danger. However, their way was blocked by fragments of ice filling the passage. The whales turned back and moved to the same place which they had left before. The crew of the Vladimir Arsenyev had to start the operation again from the very beginning. They began to cut the ice along the coast in order to remove ice jams.

The whale-saving operation proved a rather costly undertaking for the sailors of the Soviet Far East. However, the Far Eastern shipping line is not counting the losses. The gratitude of the world public and Americans for assistance in rescuing the rare animals is more valuable than money to the Soviet people. TASS bureau in Rome received a telegram from Greenpeace, an international organization for environmental protection, which said that the operation had shown ways towards the establishment of mutual understanding among nations, which is also of importance.

Quebec, RSFSR Sign Cooperation Accord

*LD2910095088 Moscow TASS in English 0936 GMT
29 Oct 88*

[Text] Ottawa October 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Ivan Mironov:

The Canadian French-speaking province of Quebec and the Russian Federation, the largest Soviet constituent republic, have signed in Montreal an intergovernmental agreement on all-around cooperation for the first time in the history of Soviet-Canadian relations.

It is a result of talks between a visiting delegation led by Nikolay Trubilin, a deputy head of the Council of Ministers of Russia, and Quebec government officials, including provincial Prime Minister Robert Bourassa.

The agreement provides for cooperation in economic, scientific and cultural fields, exchanges of information and trainees and mutual visits in the next four years.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Angolan President dos Santos Visits 27-30 Oct

'Exceptional' Interest in Visit

*LD2110101788 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa
1830 GMT 20 Oct 88*

[Excerpts] The foreign tour of Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is continuing. It will include a visit to the USSR. This trip has aroused the exceptional interest of the international media. In general, all events in southern Africa are attracting great interest. This is natural. Speaking in Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania, the first country visited by the president during his tour, Jose Eduardo dos Santos stressed that there are conditions for finding just solutions to the problem of the independence of Namibia and Angola's security. But will these conditions be transformed into real guarantees of Namibia's independence and Angola's security? General opinion has it that the process of a regional peace settlement is irreversible. This was recently said even by Savimbi, leader of the anti-Angolan Government movement UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola—FBIS]. I do not see how this process can be stopped, Savimbi said. It can be delayed, but I do not see how the clock can be turned back. Naturally, Savimbi has his own views on the prospects and principles of settlement, which greatly differ from the Angolan Government's viewpoint.

But whatever the case, the problem of progress in the quadripartite talks on a settlement of the situation in southwestern Africa, on setting a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angolan territory, and the principles on which the internal security of Angola should be based, will be a constant in any commentaries linked with Jose Eduardo dos Santos' tour.

It seems that the planned short working visit to the USSR by the Angolan president will not be an exception. [passage omitted] The working visit by the president of the People's Republic of Angola and of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola—FBIS]-Worker's Party to the USSR naturally presupposes meetings with Soviet statesmen and party leaders.

It is difficult to imagine that attention will not be paid to the problem in the southern part of Africa. But now on the eve of the visit, it has to be said that the most important principle of relations between the USSR and any other country—whether developed or developing—is always noninterference in its internal affairs and respect for its sovereignty.

How and on what basis will the internal conflict in Angola be resolved? This can only be decided by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola. As for the USSR, it is firmly convinced—as is Angola—that political realism is a secure basis for the solution of any conflict.

Dos Santos Arrives in Moscow

LD2710142288 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT
27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola arrived in Moscow today for a brief working visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

He was welcomed at the airport by Anatoliy Lukyanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and other officials.

Gorbachev Meets Dos Santos

PM2910200988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 October First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev Meets Jose Eduardo dos Santos"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev met in the Kremlin on 28 October Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Worker's Party and president of Angola.

This is not the first meeting between the leaders of the two fraternal countries. Like the previous meetings, this one was marked by the spirit of comradeship, mutual goodwill, and respect. Extending cordial greetings to Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Mikhail Gorbachev reaffirmed the Soviet people's solidarity with the progressive choice of the Angolan people, with their selfless struggle in defense of the country's national independence and sovereignty.

A substantial exchange of views on the development of the situation in southern Africa and on bilateral Soviet-Angolan relations took place.

In discussing the conflict in southern Africa, Mikhail Gorbachev and Jose Eduardo dos Santos were unanimous that it is rooted in the policy of apartheid pursued by the South African Government, its actions aimed at destabilizing the neighboring states, and the continued illegal occupation of Namibia. The only way to eliminate this seat of tension is to find a political settlement that

will take account of the interests of all sides involved in the conflict. We share Angola's approach to these problems, Mikhail Gorbachev said.

The current talks between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa with U.S. mediation fit into the general trend of the settlement of regional conflicts by peaceful means, which gains in strength in international relations and enjoys growing support of the world community. The successful completion of these talks would create good prerequisites for ensuring Angola's security, for a transfer to the conditions of peaceful construction and reconstruction of Angola. At the same time the implementation of the U.N. plan to grant independence to Namibia, for which SWAPO-led Namibian patriots are fighting with broad international support, would start.

Mikhail Gorbachev supports the efforts of Angola and Cuba in that direction. All questions at the talks should be solved on the basis of respect for the sociopolitical choice of peoples, equality, and a search for mutually acceptable compromises. The two men expressed the view that, despite the difficulties, a reasonable and just settlement of the situation in southwest Africa is attainable. It is necessary to intensify the negotiating process, a search for agreement that promotes stronger peace and stability in the region and on the African Continent as a whole.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos said the Angolan people and the Angolan leadership are sincerely grateful to the Soviet Union for selfless assistance, support for Angola's striving to solve the questions of its national development on its own, and the Soviet steps to facilitate Angola's transfer to peaceful life.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Jose Eduardo dos Santos discussed prospects for developing bilateral relations. It was noted that large reserves exist for improving the mechanism of Soviet-Angolan cooperation and extending ties in different areas, including those between the CPSU and the MPLA-Worker's Party.

The meeting was attended by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Afonso van Dunem, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Worker's Party and minister of external relations.

Luanda on Dos Santos-Gorbachev Meeting

MB2910055588 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese
0500 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Text] President Jose Eduardo dos Santos met with Angolan students currently completing their studies in the Soviet capital, Moscow. The meeting between the Angolan head of state and the students was dominated

by exchanges of information. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos detailed the evolution of the situation in southwestern Africa, in light of ongoing consultations on signing a definitive accord.

The Angolan head of state was briefed on student life, notably on the studies and party work being learned by the students in Moscow. He was also informed of the students' difficulties in certain areas.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was honored at a dinner given by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He also met with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on issues related to USSR-Angolan cooperation; the international situation, in general; and the situation in southwestern Africa, in particular.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos will certainly have discussed a number of issues related to the USSR's experiences with regard to economic reform [words indistinct] perestroika, which, like the SEF [Angola's Economic and Financial Reorganization Program—FBIS], seeks greater involvement from society as a whole in building a new social and economic model that will overcome stagnation and bureaucracy.

Lukyanov Hosts Kremlin Dinner

*LD2810191588 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT
28 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—A dinner in honor of Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Workers' Party, president of the People's Republic of Angola, was given on behalf of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament) in the Kremlin today.

On the Soviet side the dinner was attended by Anatoliy Lukyanov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by vice presidents of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and by other officials.

At the dinner which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere Anatoliy Lukyanov and Jose Eduardo dos Santos exchanged brief speeches.

Dos Santos Leaves for Minsk

*LD2910072188 Moscow TASS in English 0718 GMT
29 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Workers' Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, left Moscow for Minsk today.

He is staying in this country on a brief working visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

The Angolan leader was seen off at the airport by Anatoliy Lukyanov, an alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and first vice-president of the Presidium of the Soviet parliament, and other officials.

Dos Santos Arrives in Minsk

*LD2910113688 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT
29 Oct 88*

[Text] Minsk October 29 TASS—Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Workers' Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, arrived here today.

He is in this country on a brief working visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

The Angolan leader was welcomed at the airport by Georgiy Tarazevich, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia, and other officials.

Dos Santos Departs USSR

*LD3010160888 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT
30 Oct 88*

[Text] Minsk October 30 TASS—Chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola—FBIS] Workers' Party, President of the People's Republic of Angola, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, left Minsk today upon completion of his brief working visit to the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

Before his flight from the USSR the guest viewed the Belorussian State Museum of History of the Great Patriotic War and the exhibition of achievements of the national economy of the Belorussian SSR.

Portuguese Beam Reviews Visit

*LD3110001788 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa
830 GMT 30 Oct 88*

[Text] President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has just concluded his working visit to the USSR. After a stay in the Belorussian capital of Minsk, Jose Eduardo dos Santos left for the Czechoslovak capital, Prague.

In a brief review of this visit, special prominence must be given to the meeting between Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. This was not the first meeting between the two and, like previous ones, it was marked by an atmosphere of comradeship and mutual respect.

Commenting on the meeting between the Soviet and Angolan leaders, journalists noted that there was an exchange of information on the situation in their respective countries and that President Eduardo dos Santos provided a detailed account of the evolution of the peace process unfolding in southwestern Africa in the context of the intensive consultations being held with a view to

concluding a definitive agreement from which will result Angola's security and Namibia's independence. Other current international issues were also broached at the meeting as well as matters pertaining to bilateral cooperation between Angola and the USSR.

The Angolan president is bound to have made references to the Soviet experience in the construction of socialist society, especially at a time when the Soviet people are involved in the restructuring process, *perestroika*.

During the visit meetings also took place with Soviet officials to discuss practical aspects of cooperation between the two countries.

The itinerary of the visit included the Belorussian capital, Minsk, where Jose Eduardo dos Santos met the leadership of the republic's Communist Party.

Appraising the results of his visit to the USSR on the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary and of the anniversary of the proclamation of Angola's independence, the Angolan president stated:

[Begin Dos Santos recording] I believe that this visit represents an important landmark in the history of Angolan-Soviet relations because on the eve of great events we have established programs for the future which will tighten even further our relations of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation and make our cooperation more efficient and effective, more in keeping with the potential capacity of our two countries, on the basis of mutual benefit and equality that has always characterized our relations. [end recording]

Angolan Minister Speaks on Namibian Independence
LD2710121688 Moscow TASS in English 1146 GMT
27 Oct 88

[Text] Luanda October 27 TASS—Countries which are parties to the quadripartite talks on a settlement in South-Western Africa continue regarding November 1 as the date when U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 on granting independence to Namibia goes into force, an Angolan minister has said.

Pedro de Castro van-Dunem, a member of the MPLA-Worker's Party Central Committee Politbureau, Angola's minister of state for the productive sphere, minister of petroleum and energy, said as much at a meeting in Luanda on Wednesday.

Addressing the opening session of a seminar on oil prospecting and extraction in the countries grouped in the Southern African Development Coordination Committee (SADCC), the minister said that the talks had produced substantial results and were drawing to a close.

Despite South Africa's attempts to stall the decolonization process in Namibia, the remaining difficulties could be overcome, provided all the parties concerned displayed sufficient flexibility, the minister added.

The Angolan Government was doing all in its powers, the minister concluded, to achieve a durable peace in South-Western Africa still living in an atmosphere of instability and tension, something he blamed on the Pretoria regime.

Lagos Meeting Discusses African Debt Crisis
LD2910225888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Excerpts] A session of the African leadership forum has taken place in Lagos. [passage omitted]

The situation is difficult for many African countries. [Passage omitted] A considerable proportion of the problems is rightly linked to external factors. This was also discussed at the African leadership forum. Those who took part in it noted that Africa's foreign debt has risen substantially in the past few years and now amounts to \$218 billion. Essentially the developing countries are now simply financing the developed countries of the West. At the forum it was reported, for instance, that this year Africa will pay the West \$45 billion in interest alone, while its revenues from exports will not exceed \$30 billion.

External forces, through the World Bank and the IMF, are regulating international trade to the detriment of the developing countries, which has led to the immense trade deficit of the Third World countries. As a result, they are forced to contract more and more new loans.

The participants in the African leadership forum session spoke of the need to search for their own ways of getting out of this situation and to set up their own organizations capable of resolving the continent's economic problems. However, the debt burden is essentially depriving the developing countries of their very economic independence. As chairman of the African Leadership Forum Retired General Olusegun Obasanjo, former head of the Nigerian Government, stated, representatives of the World Bank and the IMF are operating in key posts of the debtor countries, making it impossible for any serious economic decision to be made by them without the creditors knowing.

Resolving the problems of the economy simply through the efforts of the African countries will not succeed. Therefore, General Obasanjo said, when speaking of the restructuring programs imposed both by the IMF and the World Bank, should one not state the need to restructure the very capital [fondy] of the bank and Western institutions similar to it in order to ensure a just international economic order.

East Europe

Czechoslovakia Marks National Day 28 October

'Anti-Socialist' Actions in Prague

LD2810222088 Moscow TASS in English 2201 GMT
28 Oct 88

[Text] Prague October 29 TASS—The festive atmosphere of the national holiday—the 70th anniversary of the formation of independent Czechoslovakia—was disturbed on Friday by actions of groups of irresponsible elements in Wenceslas and Old Town squares of Prague.

The CETEKA new agency reported that the actions involved about two thousand people with criminal elements among them. The initiators of the action managed to draw into their action some young people who were present in the square.

Since calls for ending disturbances remained without response, public security bodies took measures to disperse the gatherings. Eighty-seven people were detained. Actions of the security personnel were complicated by the presence of tourists and passers-by in the square.

The action by internal opponents of socialism, the CETEKA report pointed out, had been prepared for a long time by foreign anti-socialist and emigre centres as well as by mass media of the West and first of all by the Voice of America and Free Europe radio stations.

The anti-socialist action pursued the aim of complicating the country's current process of restructuring and democratisation, which is being fully supported by the Czechoslovak people, as well as the aim of discrediting Czechoslovakia as a country the signature of which was put to the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Greetings to CSSR Leaders

PM3110084588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Greetings to CSSR leaders from Soviet leadership bodies on the 70th anniversary of Czechoslovak independence]

[Text] To Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee,

Comrade Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR,

Comrade Ladislav Adamec, premier of the CSSR Government,

Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers send on behalf of the Soviet people to you and to all

CSSR working people cordial greetings and best wishes on your national day, the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of an independent Czechoslovak state.

For Czechs and Slovaks, the acquisition of statehood was an important stage in their national liberation struggle, whose upsurge was inseparably linked with the Great October Socialist Revolution. But Czechoslovakia's working people had to travel a long and complex path in order to become real masters of their own fate and to start implementing the ideals of freedom, democracy, national equality, and social justice.

This jubilee gives Soviet people yet another opportunity to realize the great importance of our fraternal peoples' common revolutionary aspirations for the development and consolidation of all that is best and most valuable in Soviet-Czechoslovak relations. Today it can be noted with all the more satisfaction that the coincidence of courses followed by the CPSU and the CPCZ toward far-reaching transformations in the economy and social life on the basis of all-around development of socialist democracy open up new opportunities for cooperation between the USSR and Czechoslovakia.

We wish you, dear comrades, and the whole fraternal Czechoslovak people great successes in fulfilling the responsible tasks of accelerating socioeconomic progress set by the CPCZ.

CPSU Central Committee

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

USSR Council of Ministers

Historian Writes on Anniversary

PM3110113188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Jan Galandauer: "The People Chose the Way. Tomorrow Is the 70th Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Czechoslovak Republic"]

[Excerpts] Prague—With the downfall of the Habsburg monarchy and the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic, the Czech and Slovak peoples embarked on a new phase of their history 70 years ago. This happened at the end of World War I, during which the question of the future map of Europe was resolved. Nevertheless, it was not this war that destroyed the Habsburg monarchy, for it had survived several military defeats in the past. The war only became ruinous for the decrepit monarchy in connection and in conjunction with the revolution in Russia. Great October shook Europe and the entire world. [passage omitted]

Czechoslovakia's security and sovereign existence should have been ensured by virtually all the Entente countries. However, this foreign policy concept did not

stand the test of time. The bourgeois Czechoslovak Republic's international political guarantees began to disappear straight after its creation. Western powers evaded the principles of the Treaty of Versailles. After Hitler came to power, they sacrificed Czechoslovakia in the interests of the shameful, egoistic, foolhardy, and shortsighted policy that has become an infamous chapter in history under the title of the "policy of appeasement."

Czechoslovakia's foreign policy leadership tried to counter this chain of events by concluding a treaty of alliance with the USSR in 1935. This treaty could have been an obstacle to the implementation of Hitler's aggressive plans.

During this period the CPCZ was the sole mouthpiece for nationwide and general national interests. The Communists endeavored to ensure that the Republic relied on the USSR in combating the Nazi danger. They defended Czechoslovak state independence. [passage omitted]

The Munich diktat and the Nazi occupation marked the failure of the state that arose in 1918. However, this was by no means the end of Czechoslovak statehood all together. The Czechoslovak Communists put forward the slogan at the beginning of the Hitlerite occupation: "For a New 28 October." It expressed their determination not only to restore the Czechoslovak state but also to put it on a different footing.

The arguments that the revolutionary workers movement put forward at the very beginning—not only does socialism not threaten Czechoslovakia's state independence but, on the contrary, it will help guarantee it forever—became even more convincing with the destruction of the bourgeois democratic Republic and the bankruptcy of its foreign policy guarantees.

The Czechoslovak state's existence and security can only be ensured by alliance with "world socialism," which in the specific historical situation in question meant the Soviet Union. This concept also existed outside CPCZ ranks, it became nationwide, and thus the ideological, political, and sociopsychological foundations were laid to ensure that the workers movement became the repository of the idea of Czechoslovak statehood.

The Communists' stance was reflected both in their programs and also above all in the practice of combating the fascist occupiers, particularly in the revolutionary actions of the Slovak national uprising and the Czech people's May uprising.

Communists' principles also won through in foreign policy. This was manifested above all in the talks between the CPCZ Moscow leadership and President E. Benes in Moscow and in the signing of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty on Friendship, Mutual Assistance, and Postwar Cooperation of 12 December 1943.

The Soviet Army's liberation of the country in spring 1945 and the crucial role of the working class, led by the CPCZ, in the national liberation struggle created a favorable basis for building a new Czechoslovakia. Power passed into the hands of the people, represented by the National Front Government and national committees. The national democratic revolution conquered and thus conditions were created for transforming it into a socialist revolution.

The Czech and Slovak state was born on a new social class base. The present-day Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, whose peoples are proud to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the formation of their joint state, stands on this platform.

Present-day Czechoslovakia is a socialist country with well-developed industry, productive agriculture, and a high educational and cultural level. It is an equal member of the socialist community and enjoys prestige in the world community. Precisely 136 world states maintain active diplomatic relations with the CSSR. Czechoslovakia's fraternal peoples, united in a single sovereign state, look to the future confidently and are building a new society on their ancient land.

Envoy to GDR on Bilateral Ties, Restructuring
AU2810152188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 26 Oct 88 p 5

[Interview with Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR, by the Voice of the GDR on 24 October: "Growing Dynamics in USSR-GDR Relations"; place not given]

Voice of the GDR: In the joint press release on the meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev, the intensity and variety of German-Soviet relations was called unique. What importance do you, Comrade Ambassador, attach to the economic and scientific-technological cooperation in this context?

Kochemasov: One can very well say that a new period has begun in relations between our countries. This refers above all to economic and scientific-technological cooperation. It is now unequalled in terms of volume and intensity. In the 39 years of the GDR's existence, our exchange of goods has grown to become 50 times its original volume and presently amounts to almost R15 billion per year. However, not only are the standards of cooperation essential today, but it is also important to improve their quality. The leading representatives of our parties have set the task of proceeding from the simple exchange of goods to a close approximation of our economies within the socialist economic integration. In view of the economic and technological challenge of the West, we have to use all opportunities inherent in socialism by creating a uniform socialist market, accelerating scientific-technological progress, and reaching

the international standard in the production of equipment, machines, and goods. Are the prerequisites available for this? By all means. The recent meeting between the CPSU and SED general secretaries, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and Comrade Erich Honecker, in Moscow shows in which ways the opportunities can be used: by further deepening cooperation and specialization in production, introducing new forms of cooperation in science and technology, perfecting direct relations between associations, combines, and organizations, and applying new and modern technologies. It must be added that we are not starting from a zero level in our new forms of cooperation. We have already accumulated many experiences; many government agreements and cooperation programs between entire economic branches of the GDR and the Soviet Union are in force. In short, there is a solid basis for progress in the solution of tasks set by time itself. With regard to our opportunities it must be stressed that, without underestimating the difficulties that still have to be overcome, we will be able to master the present tasks. The GDR's economic and intellectual potential is well known. It was excellently demonstrated at the GDR exhibition in Moscow which has just ended. In my opinion, the Soviet people's strong interest in the exhibition can be explained by the fact that it was future-oriented. If we combine our enormous opportunities with the GDR's generally recognized achievements, with its highly developed technology and science, then we will be able to state with good reason that, by the energetic and consistent work of our organizations, we will reach the level which time dictates to us. The implementation of the long-term cooperation program between the USSR and the GDR in the fields of science, technology, and production through the year 2000, the fulfillment of the long-term intergovernmental agreements, and other agreements between our two countries are of great importance. We are jointly interested in carefully coordinating the national economic plans from 1991 to 1995, in consideration of the increased tasks in the present stage of socialist construction and new economic conditions. The USSR and the GDR regard the close cooperation in the search for the best possible solution to the fuel and raw materials problem as a new task of strategic importance.

In the near future, we will have to put the agreements, which were made at the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker, in concrete form and to advance matters intensively. It is most important not to lose any time, to make new methods and levers of integration effective, with even more courage and energy, in all fields, in the economic, political, and humanitarian spheres, for the benefit of our peoples in the future.

Voice of the GDR: The USSR and the GDR support the continuation of the disarmament process. What proposals do you consider especially significant in this field?

Kochemasov: We are confronted with the task not to permit the waning of the disarmament process, to preserve its dynamics, and to make it irreversible. The

conclusion of the INF Treaty was the first concrete step on the path toward freeing the world of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction, toward establishing a nuclear-free and nonviolent world for all mankind. The main guidelines in the present period are the halving of the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States, which are the core of their nuclear arsenals, adherence to the ABM Treaty, the complete elimination of chemical weapons, and the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms on the European Continent.

It goes without saying that we are not restricting our efforts to solving these most important tasks. We are looking for ways to solve many other disarmament problems too. Certain progress has been made, for example, with regard to limiting and banning nuclear tests. We are actively fighting against the militarization of space. In Krasnoyarsk, Mikhail Gorbachev submitted concrete new proposals to this effect. In the UN General Assembly, our country advocated an agreement on restricting the proliferation of military missile technology as a supplement to the INF Treaty. At the same time, we pleaded for strengthening the role of the United Nations in the disarmament process. The clear and concrete action program submitted by the Warsaw Pact states, which aims at military detente in Europe, has become very important in reducing armed forces and conventional arms. We advocate the start of negotiations on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe as soon as possible. This will also contribute to directing international developments toward extending advantageous economic, cultural, and other relations between the peoples. After their start, such negotiations could receive an important impetus from a top-level pan-European meeting, as proposed by the Soviet Union. Mikhail Gorbachev underlined that we also envisage the participation of the United States and Canada in such a meeting and do not intend to separate Europe from the United States or the United States from European policy in any way. At present, there is practically no question of disarmament on which the countries of the socialist community have not submitted concrete and constructive proposals. It is fully justifiable to claim that socialism has firmly taken the initiative in disarmament. The independent contribution by each of our allies to solving the problems of peace and security is also very important. We highly appreciate the GDR's foreign political activities. The GDR's foreign political proposals to create a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe, a chemical-weapons free zone, and a zone of security and trust are an essential confirmation of the general political line of the socialist community and create important prerequisites for the improvement of the climate in Europe and the whole world. The most important condition for maintaining peace and security in Europe is the inviolability of the borders, unconditional respect for the existing territorial-political realities, the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of states, as well as the other generally recognized principles and norms of interstate relations.

Voice of the GDR: More than 3 months have passed since the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which determined the course of further political and economic reorganization in the USSR. How do you evaluate the implementation of its decisions, especially in view of the latest CPSU Central Committee session?

Kochemasov: I will deal with the party conference first. It was a truly open party discussion on the major concerns of Communists and Soviet citizens today, and it constituted an attempt to find answers to questions that affect them. Accordingly, we can state with good reason that the conference took place in the spirit of Lenin; it was the triumph of great responsibility for the people and the revolution. The delegates of the conference condemned the mistakes and crimes of the past, but also categorically rejected attempts to negate the historical achievements of the Soviet people. Something else adds to its special importance: At the conference, great demands were made on the evaluation of the successes and the shortcomings of the reorganization, the questions were defined sharply and in principle; at the same time, there was a comradely atmosphere, one can even say that people looked at each other benevolently.

Of course, the present situation of our country and our party is determined by the fact that we are no longer the same as we were before the party conference. The party's political experiences have been considerably enriched, especially with regard to three main directions of its present activities. The first is the reform of the political system, the second the deepening and more comprehensive implementation of the economic reform, and the third the solution of urgent socioeconomic problems. For almost 3 and 1/2 years our people, under the party's leadership, have pursued the course of the fundamental reorganization of all aspects of social life. With good reason, these years can be called a turning point. Through the efforts of the party, which initiated the profound changes, the development of negative manifestations in the economic, social, and intellectual sphere was halted. The most important political result of this period, which began in April 1985, was the change in the entire social atmosphere, the aggressive implementation of innovative ideas, and the growing support of the Soviet people for the party's course. Questions about the real results of restructuring can be answered by mentioning the major changes for the better in all sectors of the economy and those that concern the solution of social problems. The speed of industrial production is increasing, labor productivity and the efficiency of production are growing, positive tendencies can be registered in the development of agriculture, the economic management system is improving, and work and production discipline has been consolidated. The reorientation of our economy toward solving social problems is also very important. We have started to build far more apartments, schools, hospitals, and cultural facilities than before. The production of consumer goods is increasing, quality is

improving, and services for the population are increasing. Special importance is now attached to better supplying the population with foodstuffs and mass production commodities.

In the agricultural sector we will have to reconsider the experience of past years, mainly the experience in this sector's management in the years of socialism. The tasks of agricultural policy in the present period were clearly formulated in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the recent meeting with agricultural specialists in the CPSU Central Committee. It was an animated, interested talk with people on the reorganization of economic relations in the country. It will be continued at the forthcoming Central Committee plenary session on questions of agricultural policy.

A CPSU Central Committee plenary session on questions of relations between nationalities is also under active preparation. A new electoral law bill and a bill on changes in the USSR Constitution and an addendum to it have been published. Bills on the press and youth are being drafted. We think that all this proves convincingly that the course of restructuring is right. But quite a few problems remain. Not all have completely understood these processes so far. Old and new things exist side by side and sometimes fight against each other. This, of course, contributes a certain difficult element to the reorganization processes in our society. In fulfillment of the decisions of the 19th party conference, we are now busy with the restructuring of the party apparatus. This was precisely the point of the CPSU Central Committee plenary session of September. The plenary session dealt with the Politburo's proposals on questions of political reform and the creation of a new structure for the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee and the local party organs. Certain cadre changes in leading party functions were carried out. Cadre changes were also planned at the recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The election of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee as new head of state is in accordance with our country's highest interests.

We are glad that the CPSU's course of restructuring Soviet society is being met with sympathetic feelings and the support of the SED and the GDR working people. This was convincingly stated by Erich Honecker during his recent visit to the Soviet Union. As you know, the leaderships of our two parties and states highly appreciate the growing dynamics in bilateral relations. The Soviet Union and the GDR, which are united by firm friendship and international solidarity, plan to cooperate closely—based on their common views on questions in principle of foreign policy and socialist construction—for the future benefit of their peoples. Their goal is to further raise the level of relations between the USSR and the GDR, which are unique in their intensity and variety and the core of which is the close militant alliance between the CPSU and the SED on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The CPSU and the Soviet people wish the SED and the GDR working

people further successes in implementing the course of uniting economic and social policy and in fulfilling the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, which aim at consolidating the socialist German state and benefiting the people. Through their actions, Soviet citizens will continue to affirm their determination to strengthen the fraternal alliance with the GDR working people and their relations of a true friendship, the close cooperation for peace, international security, and socialism.

I want to use this opportunity to wish the communists and all working people of the socialist GDR every success, and every family well-being and happiness.

IZVESTIYA on Events in Yugoslavia
PM2810122788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Kolosov "Letter From Belgrade": "What Is Going on in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] It was unusually hot and oppressive this summer in Yugoslavia. This had not happened for a long time, the local meteorologists noted unanimously. As far as the political climate was concerned, the fall was hotter and more oppressive. This has never happened in our socialist state, the Yugoslav politicians noted with one voice....

Indeed it has not happened before. There had never been so many strikes, meetings, and demonstrations in the country's large and small towns, particularly in Voivodina and Montenegro. Slogans like, for instance, "Let sensible people lead us," "Down with bureaucracy" and "Stop deceiving us" had never been raised above demonstrators' heads.

People began talking a comparatively long time ago about the fact that matters were not going well in Yugoslavia. At the very end of the seventies.... At first they wrote about "certain difficulties," then the harsh word "crisis" appeared in the newspapers. Economic and political crisis. Only naive tourists in Belgrade's center for the first time are struck by store counters bathed in neon lights and crammed with goods. But the "average" Yugoslav does not live as it might appear at first glance. Here are completely new figures. More than 80 percent of all bank deposits belong to only 10 percent of Yugoslav depositors! They are the ones who live well.

For the overwhelming majority of the population recent years have been characterized by a drastic slowing down of progress in the country's economy, a chronic fall in labor productivity, the destructive scale of inflation, an unprecedented fall in living standards, and an increase in unemployment. Yugoslavia's foreign debt, which amounts to more than \$20 billion, is the most heavy burden on the national economy.

All the same, what are the reasons for the present, unprecedented crisis which the country is undergoing? Why did the massive experiment in transferring socialist

self-management from the sphere of theoretical research to the hands of the workers, which was begun successfully almost 40 years ago and which got rid of some contradictions, give rise to others? Perhaps the Yugoslav experiment is a mistake?

Stipe Suvar, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, posed this question at the very beginning of his report at the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum which has just ended. "In our country and abroad," he said, "the question has been asked increasingly frequently in recent times: Does socialism have a future in Yugoslavia? The LCY Central Committee assembled today not to discuss this question but to stress that socialism and self-management do have a future, and the LCY is ready and able to head all the progressive forces in the search for new paths of social development. We must show the world that as before we are adhering to our basic ideas of developing socialism... "

I naturally do not intend to set out the contents of S. Suvar's extensive report and the speeches of about 90 representatives of republican and provincial party organizations who participated in the discussions. All the speeches without exception were self-critical, sharp, polemical, and absolutely frank. A basic thought ran through all these speeches. The very grave socioeconomic and political situation which has taken shape in the country is on the conscience of the Yugoslav Communists, from the leaders to simple functionaries. Their sluggishness, inconsistency, mistakes, and sterile bureaucracy have undermined the faith of the broad masses of the Yugoslav working people in the life-giving forces of socialist self-management. "Each Communist, from the industrial enterprise to the LCY Central Committee," S. Suvar stated, "must answer to the working class." It is precisely for this reason that the plenum resolved so categorically the question of leading party cadres. Requests to retire made by B. Krunic, M. Renovica, F. Setinc, and K. Siroka, members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, were satisfied. B. Krunic was simultaneously released from his duties as member of the LCY Central Committee.

Then at the suggestion of the LCY Central Committee Presidium a secret vote of confidence in the Presidium as a whole and each member individually was carried out. As a result of the vote, a vote of no confidence in D. Ckrebic, member of the Presidium, was expressed; in connection with this he asked to be released from his duties as member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Three urgent tasks face Yugoslav society and primarily, of course, the Communists. These are reforms in the economy, in the political system, and in the party. As the plenum stressed, they need to be resolved comprehensively. The economy is the very basis of any society's life. Why doesn't this seemingly sufficiently tested system of self-management work, when everything, literally everything, is in the hands of the workers, from the election of

the directors and the entire administrative-management apparatus to production and distribution? In his speech at the plenum Stipe Suvar answered this question simply: The management of all enterprises was handed over to the workers, but the technocrats took control over their incomes.

What is this social stratification, so to speak? Professor Najdan Pasic from Belgrade University calls it the country's professional political-administrative stratum, which has very strong positions and a great deal of prestige and authority. The position of this stratum which rules politically and its internal cohesion, N. Pasic explains, which emerged after victory in the people's liberating war and which strengthened as a result of opposition to the Communist Information Bureau, (he means the conflict between the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Information Bureau, on the other, in 1948.—L.K.), further increased as a result of the fact that it came out decisively in support of the self-management ideology. The impressive economic success which Yugoslavia once enjoyed strengthened trust and increased the influence of the state—or "etatist" as it is called here—apparatus.

It was this apparatus that acted as a bureaucratic brake on the development of socialist self-management in enterprises. It—that is, the apparatus—had its own interests connected with preserving the existing power structure and the privileged position of the ruling stratum. It is not out of place, incidentally, to recall that the LCY Program adopted back in 1958 emphasized the danger of the ruling Communist Party's bureaucratic degeneration if it exercised its leading role in building socialism while relying primarily on levers of state power. In this way it itself became virtually a part of the state machinery of command and coercion. Etatism grew into self-management. It created the barrier which led to the crisis of self-management and gave rise to economic muddle.

One of the most dangerous manifestations of the economic and also the political crisis was inflation. It developed into a real calamity for the country and became virtually uncontrollable. I have talked with many Yugoslav economists. They are all generally united in their assessments of this phenomenon. The vicious circle of inflation cannot be broken while production is stagnant, while the foreign debt continues to grow and the population increases at the same time.

How is equilibrium to be maintained in the country's economic balance, given all these contradictory processes? Only by raising prices. Which is what is happening in practice. But when all problems are resolved by means of the mechanism of price formation and pressure on the printing press which produces bank notes, this is parasitic management. Things cannot be rectified in such an economy by either "freezing" or "unfreezing"

prices. Both of these have happened before my eyes, both last year and this. Neither yielded any positive results but, on the contrary, increased inflation.

Where is the way out? In further developing the system of socialist self-management. This was stated most insistently from the rostrum of the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum. Not management of self-management but, on the contrary, its further democratization and the granting of full freedom of action to enterprises which must manage independently and at their own risk under market economy conditions. Only in this way, Yugoslav Communists believe, is it possible to change the situation and correct the sorry statistics according to which one enterprise in every six made a loss last year.

The two other reforms—of the political system and the party—are also linked very closely with the improvement of the system of socialist self-management. Their essence boils down to the fact that the LCY and the state apparatus must be clearly separated from each other at all levels of political organization, from top to bottom. The LCY must exercise the necessary influence and its leading role not from positions of state power but from within, within the self-managing structures themselves. The "cadre practice" in which certain party functionaries used to engage in the quiet of their offices must be completely eradicated. The profound transformations in the party itself, as S. Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, declared in his report, will be reflected in the new party statutes, whose draft will be submitted for examination at the 14th LCY Congress....

The present uneasy times are characterized by an incessant offensive by internal antisocialist forces against the Yugoslav working people's revolutionary gains. Of course, the party and the country's public are clearly aware that it is certainly no coincidence that this wave is running onto the Yugoslav shore. It is being driven on by the wind of economic and political crisis and by the tense situation in Kosovo, which continues to this day because of nationalism and separatism. That autonomous province, inhabited chiefly by Albanians, is truly Yugoslavia's bleeding wound, and has had and now has its problems created by economic and social backwardness and by the mistakes of Kosovo's former leadership. The continuing departure from the province of the Serbs and Montenegrins who have lived there from time immemorial has been a constant catalyst of tension.... It was stated clearly and distinctly at the plenum that settling the Kosovo problem is a very important condition for assuaging political passions throughout the country. This is precisely why the Communists of Kosovo, Serbia, and all of Yugoslavia must formulate a common position without delay and begin joint activity in that province, where the situation remains very uneasy to this day.

Yes, Yugoslavia now has many problems, very acute ones. It is entirely a matter for our Yugoslav friends themselves to resolve them, a matter for the minds and hands of the millions of working people in this country.

And we do not doubt that Yugoslavia's working people, improving their social system and bringing it into line with the demands of the times, will advance, resolving their problems and disappointing those who foretell for them a road to nowhere....

MSZMP Discusses Decision on Debates

PM3110112188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent V. Gerasimov report under the rubric "Fraternal Party Life": "Improving the Standard of Debate"]

[Text] Budapest, 25 Oct—The MSZMP Central Committee is preparing a decision on the organization of debate in the party. There was a discussion of the principles and methods of conducting it at a joint session of the MSZMP Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda and Party Building Commissions.

Regular debates in the party are a political necessity. This is one of the session's chief conclusions, as reported in the press. Debate must be a permanent element of life in the party. Any party member or local organization can initiate a debate. The right to decide whether or not to hold it rests with authoritative party bodies. They reply and explain their decision to the initiators and they announce what kind of debate it will be—general or regional.

Anyone who does not agree with the decision can ask, after a certain time, for their proposals to be discussed again. The draft draws attention to the need to improve the standard of debate so that the position of the minority does not lead to a split, to the creation of factions.

The party press, the draft notes, must give notice of debates, analyze individual speeches, and comment on minority opinion.

There was an extensive discussion of the question of glasnost: Can all debates in the party, for example, be carried over to public forums? An organized debate in the party will in all likelihood be held for the first time next spring in connection with the reform of the Hungarian Constitution and the overhaul of primary party organizations' work.

Draft Electoral Law Submitted in Hungary

PM2710140188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent B. Rodionov dispatch: "Hungary: Draft Law"]

[Text] Budapest—The draft of the new electoral law has been submitted for nationwide discussion in Hungary. A whole series of its provisions are suggested in two or three versions.

According to the draft, the right to primary nomination of candidate deputies for the State Assembly will be received by public organizations, citizens' associations, labor collectives operating in the territory of a given electoral district, and also street and apartment block committees and meetings of housing cooperative members. All nominations are examined in an atmosphere of full glasnost by public commissions which submit the question of final approval of candidates to voters' meetings. Only voters from a given district vote at these meetings. The candidates publish their programs. In order to gain final nomination, a candidate needs to win at least one-half of the votes cast by voters represented at the meetings.

Formerly, a candidate deputy had to confirm in writing his acceptance of the Patriotic People's Front election program, but now—according to one of the versions—it would be sufficient for him to pledge to observe the country's constitution and laws.

The draft law also envisages amendments to the procedure for elections via the national ballot. It is planned to increase the number of deputies elected by the whole country from 35 to 50. Candidates are nominated directly by the MSZMP, the trade unions, the Communist Youth League, the Hungarian Economic Chamber, and the cooperative unions. Representatives of ethnic minority organizations and of church and other public movements are nominated by the Patriotic People's Front.

TRUD Examines Polish Attitudes on 'Roundtable'

PM2610111188 Moscow TRUD in Russian
25 Oct 88 p 3

[Own correspondent Yu. Skvortsov dispatch: "Chairs Are Empty at Present. Who Is Rejecting Dialogue in Poland?"]

[Text] Warsaw, October—Polish television recently showed a report from the first session of the new government. The Poles saw the new ministers sit down at the long government table for the first time. This report contained a truly sensational frame: a close-up of three empty chairs. Three government posts, including the post of deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, were vacant.

Poland's new premier, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who was tasked with forming a government, intended to present the Sejm with the full complement of ministers. Moreover, he offered portfolios to people from the so-called constructive opposition and to "independents." In other words Mieczyslaw Rakowski set himself the goal of creating a government representing Poland's most varied social and political forces. However, the members of the opposition and the "independents" refrained from taking up the premier's proposal.

A little later at a press conference, Mieczyslaw Rakowski gave the reasons why the opposition representatives had not accepted the government portfolios. One main reason was that a "roundtable" had still not been held, a meeting between Polish leaders and the leaders of the constructive opposition to try to find effective ways, through joint efforts, to improve the economy and the Poles' standard of living and to further democratize society. In the opinion of the Polish Government, such excessive caution on the part of the opposition has led to its missing the opportunity of influencing "from within the country's leadership," as it were, the process of social accord, the creation of conditions of cooperation and trust, and the course of the future "roundtable" meeting.

However, the doors to the government cabinet have remained open and the three seats are unoccupied—Poland's leaders are proving their desire to cooperate with everyone who wishes the country and the people well not merely verbally but with actions.

As for the "roundtable," it was first planned that its session would open 17 October. But the preparatory work, including the formation of the participants, is still under way. As happens in such cases, the fact that the date of such an important meeting has been postponed has already attracted a myriad of conjecture and surmise. Jerzy Urban, government press spokesman, has had to confirm once again that the Polish authorities' desire to hold a "roundtable" is total; it is their initiative and everything is now being done to implement this initiative.

However, in the last 2 weeks events have taken place in Poland that illustrate that not all the partners in the "roundtable" really want constructive dialogue with the government. Scandalous excesses have taken place in some cities; those involved have armed themselves with banners bearing the symbol of "Solidarity" and the following slogans: "Communism is the cause of the devil"; "Solidarity will vanquish the commune"; "Jaruzelski's 'roundtable' will collapse"; and others.

A crowd of approximately 700 people recently even tried to erect street barricades in the center of Gdansk, set fire to trash receptacles, and hurled stones at militiamen.

It was then that some students from higher educational establishments, including Krakow Jagiellonian and Warsaw Universities, decided to boycott military classes and political economy, sociology, and Russian lectures.

There can be no doubt that all the excesses did not occur simultaneously by accident, but were timed to coincide with the opening of the "roundtable" sessions.

So some people want social tranquility and mutual trust in Poland, while others want acute social conflicts. Who reflects the opinion of most Poles? TRYBUNA LUDU has published extremely curious data by sociologists. In September, immediately after the end of the strikes at

the mines and shipyards, a public opinion research center decided to find out: How did Poles regard the very fact that calm had been restored in the country? "With delight!" 87.5 percent of those polled replied. "In your opinion, what is the result of the strikes?" "They have caused the country to lose more than it gained," 38.6 percent replied. Only 16.4 percent of those polled expressed the opposite opinion.

In the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the country's citizens, it is not confrontation but rather cooperation between social forces that is the only way to pull Poland out of the difficult economic situation. As one local journalist put it aptly, the "roundtable" must lead to Poles having enough food on their tables....

West Europe

British Trade Minister Comments on Credits, Trade
LD3010233088 Moscow in English to Great Britain
and Ireland 2000 GMT 30 Oct 88

[Text] [Announcer] In London, the Soviet-British inter-governmental committee on scientific, technological, trade, and economic cooperation has completed its 15th session. Our London correspondent asked the trade minister, Alan Clark, to comment on the session's results and outline areas of prospective cooperation.

[Begin Clark recording] Well, of course, the work of the commission, which has been very constructive, takes place against a background of agreement between our two leaders, Mrs Thatcher and Mr Gorbachev, that the level of trade should be increased by 40 percent by 1990. And certainly the United Kingdom is doing its best to import from the Soviet Union. Our imports have gone up by over 30 percent in the last 2 years. We would like to sell more British goods into the Soviet Union. We feel that there are many things that we could supply that Russian consumers would like and it is to try and bring these two movements together that the commission has been conducting its work.

I'm very glad to see that a very large credit has been arranged by the financial circles in London and this is available for the Soviet Union to draw on for whatever purchases they think were proper—in the field of consumer goods, in the field of agriculture or food-processing, timber—there are many different categories where this credit will be available. It marks a continuing improvement in our relations which are, I think, better than they have been for very many decades, which is thanks, of course, to the work of Mrs Thatcher and Mr Gorbachev in particular. [end recording]

[Announcer] Britain's trade minister, Alan Clark.

Vranitzky: EEC Ties Will Not Affect Neutrality
LD2710133888 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT
27 Oct 88

[Text] Vienna October 27 TASS—The East-West relations which are so important to Austria have dramatically improved, Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor of Austria, has stated at a session of the Austrian Government held here. It was devoted to the 33th anniversary of the adoption by Austrian Parliament of a law on permanent neutrality of the Republic of Austria.

The Austrian chancellor pointed out that cooperation was developing in the West of Europe and the process of European integration was being given further impetus. A process of reforms has been started in the East of the continent which would have been regarded as unfeasible some five years ago.

Touching upon Austria's participation in the European integration process, the head of the federal government said that "It is necessary to quest for new ideas for the purpose of ensuring in the future Austria's participation in this integration."

However, no matter how Austria's cooperation with the European Community looks like in the future, there is no doubt today that the permanent neutrality of the Alpine Republic "is not subject to any changes." Today it seems especially important and necessary to me to point out the significance of Austria's neutrality, because it sometimes faces the danger of being taken for granted or even being regarded as something obsolete, as some relic of the "cold war" times, Vranitzky said. For us Austrians, he continued, neutrality is the expression of the existence of our independent state, the definition of the stand which we wished and still wish to hold, proceeding from the existing international situation, our own history and our possibilities. We chose this neutrality voluntarily and during 33 years of its existence turned it into a factor that brought us security, recognition and confidence. Neutrality promoted the creation of a security zone in the centre of Europe which can serve as an example for many other regions of the world where the situation is still characterized by conflicts involving the use of violence, the federal chancellor said.

He pointed out the need for "showing once again how important the neutrality is to us, how serious we are about it and how much we regarded it, are regarded today and will regard in the future as a major contribution to security, stability and a peaceful development of Europe."

The chancellor emphasized that by pledging to maintain permanent neutrality Austria had taken upon itself "responsibility before other European countries for a political balance in the continent." If neutrality and the chosen form of participation in a "single internal market of the European Economic Community" do not agree with each other, preference must be given under all the

circumstances to political advantages stemming from the preservation of permanent neutrality and not to the economic advantages provided by integration.

Austrian Ambassador Comments on Relations
LD2610231888 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 26 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today is an Austrian national holiday, the day that the country's parliament adopted the law on permanent neutrality. Herbert Grubmayr, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Austria to the USSR, is taking part in our program.

[Grubmayr] Esteemed viewers, today marks the 33rd anniversary of Austria's voluntary declaration of its permanent neutrality. Thus our country decided never to join any military alliances in the future. Austria linked with this decision unconditional adherence to the principles of pluralist democracy and the market economy. Permanent neutrality and membership in the Western social system constitute the basis of Austria's position in Europe and in the world. A major instrument in our permanent neutrality is a vigorous foreign policy. Only we ourselves can determine the limits of our policy of neutrality. Of course the opportunities today are wider than at times of international confrontation.

Austria welcomes the concept of the all-European home. It wants to make its contribution to the construction of this building, on the one hand through participation in European integration processes, primarily in a future single market of the European community, and on the other hand through even more intensive and many-sided ties in a spirit of good-neighbourliness with the Soviet Union and other countries in Eastern Europe.

Austrian-Soviet relations have received a fresh impetus just of late. During a relatively short space of time, the minister of foreign affairs and the federal chancellor of Austria have paid official visits to the Soviet Union. They were accompanied by large economic delegations. It is no accident that already almost 80 Austrian-Soviet joint ventures are in the planning stage.

A particularly graphic example of Austria's efforts in the sphere of expanding cooperation between East and West is the project to hold an international exhibition in 1995 jointly with Hungary in Vienna and Budapest. This would be the first event of this kind to be held simultaneously in the capitals of two countries with different social systems. Thus Austria is prepared to participate in the future in the creation of a Europe without borders, walls, and obstacles. Thank you for your attention.

TASS 'Censors' Remarks

AU2810094888 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
28 Oct 88 p 1

["AU" report: "TASS Censors Austrian Envoy's Speech"]

[Text] Vienna—The Soviet news agency TASS reacted with a striking act of censorship to the speech by Herbert Grubmayr, Austrian ambassador to Moscow, on Soviet TV during Austrian National Day on Wednesday evening [26 October]. Although TASS reported this speech for the first time—it has been traditional for Soviet television to broadcast it for quite some time—it demonstratively deleted at the same time the most interesting passages, in which Grubmayr dealt with Austria's EC policy.

In the passage left out, the ambassador described Austria's dual contribution to the new Soviet policy of the "common European home": on the one hand, through a more intensive policy of good-neighborliness with Eastern Europe, and on the other "through an ever more intensive participation in the European integration process, primarily also in a future single EC market." TASS also did not find it worth reporting that Grubmayr had linked neutrality and the "adherence to the principles of pluralistic democracy and social market economy."

Army Daily Interviews FRG Defense Minister

PM3110115188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 28 Oct 88 Second Edition p 3

[Interview in Moscow with FRG Defense Minister Rupert Scholz by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov: "Start of Dialogue"—date not specified]

[Text] For the first time in history the FRG defense minister has visited the Soviet Union. He was in Moscow in connection with the official visit to our country of FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. On the eve of the departure from the Soviet capital of the head of the FRG military department, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov asked him to answer a few questions. We publish a brief record of their conversation.

[Nikanorov] Mr Minister, during the past days you have met with Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, and other Soviet military leaders, visited the Marshal of the Soviet Union R.Ya. Malinovsky Military Academy of Armored Troops, addressed the academy's professorial and teaching staff and students, and visited the M.I. Kalinin Tamanskaya Guards Motorized Rifle Division. What impressions of what you have seen and heard are you taking home?

[Scholz] I am left with very favorable impressions. I felt that people in your country are open to talks, to the talks that are so necessary now. I regard as highly noteworthy

and very positive the openness with which they answered all my questions. They showed me everything I wanted to see. I was constantly asked: What else would you like to see, what can we show you? Quite recently such a thing would have been impossible. This is glasnost. Glasnost as I see it—leading to greater trust and to mutual understanding. We have big differences in views, but we also have a common interest, which is that we must proceed together toward peace, toward arms control and disarmament. This is a task for the future. Speaking of the present visit, I consider it a very positive fact that I was granted an opportunity to talk not only with Army General Yazov and other military leaders, not only with the military academy's teachers and students, but also with the Tamanskaya Division soldiers.

[Nikanorov] What is your assessment of that division's soldiers?

[Scholz] What I saw made a good impression on me: They are well trained and well equipped subunits. I am grateful to them for the hospitality, and I very much liked the regiment which we visited. The openness with which I was greeted was for me a "little piece of glasnost," if I may say so. And glasnost is something that will benefit us all. I proceed from the premise that your defense minister, during his upcoming visit to the FRG—and I have already passed on the invitation to him—will be able to visit a similar formation and military unit of the Bundeswehr.

[Nikanorov] What do you think of the prospects for relations between our states' armed forces?

[Scholz] I believe that, above all, we must not only continue but develop and deepen the dialogue begun during my stay in Moscow. I can go on to imagine that Bundeswehr servicemen and, let us say, representatives of the General Staffs of our Armed Forces and yours will join in the dialogue, that they will be able to talk with each other as openly as I have talked with the Soviet military leaders during these days, and that all the problems that arise will be resolved in those talks.

[Nikanorov] We know that after this visit, Mr Minister, you are going to The Hague to participate in a routine session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group. Could you say what issues will be discussed there?

[Scholz] This session will be exclusively of an informative nature. It is not planned to adopt any decisions at this session.

[Nikanorov] Could you briefly formulate your attitude to the Warsaw Pact states' proposed concept of substantial reductions in armed forces and arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals?

[Scholz] The idea advanced by the Warsaw Pact accords with the West's old demands, namely: demands for the elimination of superiority, asymmetrical disarmament,

and a subsequent move to symmetrical disarmament. All this accords with our long-held wish, and we are pleased that this viewpoint is now being expressed by your general secretary, your defense minister, and your foreign minister. I am even sure that we will soon sit round the negotiating table. Although problems still exist with regard to many details, there is no doubt—and this thought was heard clearly in the course of my talks with Army General Yazov—that, given mutual good will, we can achieve success in this.

[Nikanorov] And, finally, the last question. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers would be interested to learn what kind of man Rupert Scholz is. Does he have any free time, and if he does, how does he fill it? In short, what is Rupert Scholz like as a private person?

[Scholz] I was born in 1937. So I lived through World War II as a boy. We then lived in Berlin. My father was an officer and died near Stalingrad. I myself have never served in the Army. I am married. My wife works as a judge. Free time? Well, of course, I had more before becoming defense minister. When I get a free minute, I take pleasure in reading, and I like playing soccer and listening to music.

WEU President Would Maintain Nuclear Deterrent
PM2610154788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview in Paris with Charles Goerens, president of the WEU Assembly, conducted by own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "WEU: Clash of Tendencies"—date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction; last two paragraphs are journalist's conclusion]

[Text] The WEU, consisting of Belgium, Britain, the Netherlands, Italy, Luxembourg, the FRG, and France, is the sole organization empowered to deal with questions of defense inside West Europe. By all accounts, the WEU's role will grow as the integration processes develop.

Two tendencies are clashing at present inside the WEU and, in particular, in its assembly, which is composed of parliamentarians from various parties in the seven West European states. The first embodies a movement toward disarmament, the second a commitment to ideas of consolidating military might, creating a "European defense," and deepening military cooperation among West European countries. The struggle between these two tendencies is also reflected in the decisions taken by the WEU. On the one hand, a session held in the The Hague last year adopted a "Platform of Principles of European Security," which declares the need for nuclear weapons; on the other hand, recent sessions of the assembly have approved a whole series of documents welcoming the process of nuclear disarmament that is under way.

IZVESTIYA's correspondent interviewed Charles Goerens, the assembly's president, at the WEU's Paris headquarters in Avenue Iena.

[Kovalenko] Resolutions adopted by the WEU Assembly express support for the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Moreover, your assembly has advocated the holding of consultations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact to compare the two blocs' military doctrines. What could such consultations yield?

[Goerens] Indeed, the assembly unanimously supported the Soviet-American treaty. It instructed its president to urge the U.S. Senate to ratify it as speedily as possible. And to this end I conveyed a letter containing the resolution to the U.S. ambassador in France.... It was the first-ever occasion where we had the opportunity to advocate reducing arms. And the assembly is proud of that. We also consider the proposal to hold consultations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO an interesting one. The WEU Assembly has advised its council to ask NATO to take into consideration the initiatives put forward by the Warsaw Pact in Berlin. I think that there could be a useful exchange of opinions on the two blocs' doctrines with the aim of reducing tension.

[Kovalenko] It seems to me that the Soviet concept of a "common European home" chimes in with what General de Gaulle said about a Europe stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. Is the creation of such a home realistic, from your standpoint, and how could this goal be attained?

[Goerens] I would say that the idea of a "common European home" remains a dream for the time being.... As far as the WEU is concerned, we are fully resolved to eliminate the tension that burdens the atmosphere in this house whose construction we have yet to tackle. I believe this goal is attainable. We have already begun discharging tension in stages, and here I am thinking of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. I consider that we do have grounds for hope, but much still has to be done. It would be wrong, in my view, to limit ourselves, in our desire for this dream, solely to aspects bearing on security. The WEU Assembly has repeatedly advocated the implementation of the principles established by the CSCE. That is why we are proposing to the WEU Council that it be concerned with making progress not only in the sphere of security but in questions of human rights in all countries party to the all-European conference.

[Kovalenko] How, from your standpoint, could the WEU promote the process of disarmament?

[Goerens] The Platform of European Security Principles not only stresses that nuclear deterrence is still an essential factor in ensuring European security but also talks about the problem of disarmament. I think that equilibrium must be retained at every stage of disarmament. One should not create a psychological climate in

which one side or the other loses its sense of security. That is why we attach such significance to carefully preparing the discussion of all problems concerning disarmament. It is not a question of jumping stages but of ensuring that equilibrium is maintained at each of them.

[Kovalenko] Is the creation of a "European defense" the WEU's ultimate goal?

[Goerens] The attempt to create a "European defense" failed in the fifties after the French parliament failed to ratify the treaty creating a "European Defense Community." What we want is a rapprochement of standpoints and a (West) Europe that begins to speak in a single voice and is committed to the same principles, principles which must be put into practice. (West) Europe, along with the great powers, could formulate its own wishes and make proposals that would help strengthen our security. Speaking about "European defense," it should be noted that we are seeking peace in Europe and a reduction in tension on the basis of the kind of equilibrium that would subsequently allow a switch to a phased cut in armaments. European defense is a goal which has to be achieved.

[Kovalenko] How are the WEU's relations with NATO?

[Goerens] Our relations are splendid. We are pursuing common goals. The WEU does not replace NATO. We pay our main attention to typically European problems in the security sphere. Our mission is to become a European buttress of the North Atlantic alliance and we are fully resolved to achieve this.

[Kovalenko] How do you assess the recent Soviet proposal to hold an all-European summit conference?

[Goerens] We agree with the idea of holding an all-European meeting, but it must be based on European realities, and one of them is the presence of the United States and Canada at such a meeting. I think that an appropriate forum for it already exists, that is, the CSCE.

[Kovalenko] Do you think a Europe without nuclear weapons can exist?

[Goerens] That belongs in the realm of supposition. In the WEU's Platform we recalled that the nuclear element is essential for our security. I rule out nothing regarding the very remote future, what could happen in 2050 or 2080. But given the imbalances which exist in the sphere of conventional arms, the question of nuclear arms must be approached with extreme caution.

If I may say so...when equilibrium in conventional arms at a lower level has been achieved, a very substantial reduction in the nuclear element, if not its absence altogether, could be foreseen. But at the present time that is not realistic.

[Kovalenko] A WEU Assembly delegation visited our country at the USSR Parliamentary Group's invitation in 1987. Do you intend to continue contacts and to extend an invitation to a Soviet delegation?

[Goerens] I myself was a member of the WEU delegation and must say that the exchange of opinions that took place was very interesting. We think it is a good idea to continue our meetings. A decision will be taken very soon on the scheduling of the Soviet delegation's reciprocal visit. I believe the visit will take place at the beginning of next year. [interview ends]

The conversation with Charles Goerens is yet further evidence that the political thinking of Western figures is changing more slowly than the interests of European security demand. The disarmament process is meeting with serious opposition. The ideas of a "European home" are making difficult headway. Steadfast commitment to nuclear weapons remains. The burden of the past is still holding back proper assessment of the new Soviet policy. And yet changes in the attitudes of Western leaders are taking place. The WEU leaders welcome the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and are in favor of consultations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Finally, contacts between WEU and Soviet parliamentarians have been established and will, by all accounts, be developed.

Dialogue and the search for points of contact should help make disarmament one strand of the all-European process. What place will the WEU have in this? Will it take part in it? Or will it, on the contrary, be the main instrument for creating a "Eurodefense," and continue to serve as NATO's European "buttress"? It is not yet possible to give clear answers to these questions.

Soviet, FRG Officials Sign Ecological Accord

Broad Exchange of Information

LD2610142088 Moscow TASS in English 1354 GMT
26 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—The USSR and the FRG can and should make an efficient contribution to solution of ecological problems to the all-European home. This is the main task of cooperation between the two countries in ecology, stated Chairman of the Soviet Nature Conservation Committee Fedor Morgun and the FRG minister for the environment, conservation and reactor safety, Prof. Dr. Klaus Toepfer. They had a meeting in Moscow today within the framework of the official visit of the FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the Soviet Union.

Having noted that the inter-governmental agreement in cooperation in environmental protection, signed in the Kremlin the day before, the ministers paid priority attention to the first steps towards its realization. Among

the questions discussed were protection of the ozone layer in the atmosphere, improvement of soils, prevention of pollution of the Baltic Sea and big rivers, processing of domestic waste.

Fedor Morgun and Klaus Toepfer declared for the broadest possible exchange of information in the sphere of ecology. An accord was reached for Soviet specialists to visit West Germany to get acquainted with that country's experience in solving ecological problems of major cities and industrial areas.

An international exhibition for environmental protection, to be held in Duesseldorf in April 1989, is also of profound interest.

Environmental Protection

*LD2810213688 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT
28 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—The USSR-FRG government agreement on cooperation in environmental protection is a new stage in the development of business ties between the two countries, a TASS correspondent was told by Fedor Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature. The agreement was signed during the official visit of the FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the USSR.

The main objective of cooperation is to solve major problems of environmental protection and of rational utilisation of natural resources, to study the noxious influences on environment and to devise measures to eliminate them. A correct and controlled application of the scientific and technological achievements, Fedor Morgun said, is capable of preventing the undesirable implications of these achievements and of creating a better man-nature interaction.

To facilitate implementation of this intergovernmental agreement, a mixed USSR-FRG commission on cooperation in environmental protection will be set up. Every three years the commission will work out and approve working plans of cooperation.

The focal points, responsible for the realisation of measures within the framework of the agreement, will be the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature and the Federal Ministry on Environmental Protection, Conservation and Nuclear-Reactor Safety.

The agreement and the first agreed working plan of cooperation have entered into force on the day of signing, Fedor Morgun said. The agreement is concluded for five years, to be extended automatically upon reciprocal consent of the parties.

Political & Social

Komsomol Celebrates 70th Anniversary

Gorbachev Visits Exhibition

PM3010145188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "The Energy of the Country's Young People Should Be Channeled Into Restructuring"]

[Text] The Lenin Komsomol is 70 years old. The country's young people are celebrating the holiday with real action in the name of restructuring rather than with jubilee words of glorification. The energy of youth, its enthusiasm, desire for great, independent achievements, and rejection of routine and anything that holds it back—these are the features of the Leninist union of young people, features revived by the time of renewal, the time of hope.

The Leninist traditions of leadership of the Komsomol are gaining their true meaning. The party believes that the real democracy of socialism and broad people's power offer the country's young generation an historic opportunity to demonstrate its abilities at this fateful stage in the history of the fatherland.

How can fuller use be made of the Komsomol's civic and creative potential? This question is now the main one for the Komsomol and a decisive issue for every Komsomol unit. It was also the central question on the agenda of M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with the capital's young people.

"The Moscow Komsomol Greets the 70th Anniversary of the Komsomol." This is the slogan of the exhibition on display in the halls of the Moscow Palace of Youth, where this meeting took place on 29 October. The extreme efficiency of the exhibition, absence of ostentatious overtones, and spirit of self-appraisal in keeping with the anniversary—all this immediately created an atmosphere of businesslike, comradely dialogue between Mikhail Sergeyevich and members of the Moscow Komsomol.

One of the central themes of the discussion was the broad development of spontaneous initiatives in Komsomol life. They must be combined with a high level of organization and great sense of responsibility for word and deed. This is the only true measure of the weight of Komsomol initiatives.

Our society needs such initiative now as never before. The radical restructuring of the economy, development of lease principles in agriculture and industry, formation of cooperatives, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, spiritual renewal of society—these are now the front lines of restructuring, at which the country expects energetic young fighters. A discussion is conducted on this in every section of the exhibition: "Youth Politics," "Youth on the Front Lines of Labor," "Students in the Eighties," and "Scientific and Technical Creativity of

Youth." They are arranged in such a way that every young person can receive specific advice on these subjects. Do you want to spend the summer profitably? Choose any one of dozens of student detachments. You are experiencing material difficulties? Write down this address where you can earn some money. Getting married and settling down? Then join the Youth Housing Complex Club. It has 45,000 members in Moscow alone. And you will discover that the Youth Housing Complex is not just a roof over your head. Today it is becoming a way of life: Since homes and even entire residential areas have been built for young people, amateur associations, special interest clubs, and leisure centers have also sprung up.

While striving to radically renew their political union, the country's young people have never betrayed—nor will they betray—the best Komsomol traditions. These living bonds were reflected in the exciting discussion with Komsomol veterans held in the Lenin Hall.

Then all the young men and women invited to this celebration gathered in the Grand Hall of the Palace. M.S. Gorbachev gave a speech.

The following comrades also took part in the conversations with young people: L.N. Zaykov, V.A. Medvedev, G.P. Razumovskiy, V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, and S.A. Smirnov, first secretary of the Moscow Komsomol Gorkom.

Young amateur collectives performed in the concert which followed the meeting.

First Secretary Mironenko Cited

LD2910135288 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT
29 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—It is very important to watch the social mood of young people in conditions of perestroika (restructuring) drive, Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Young Communist League (YCL), said in an interview with the Soviet magazine OGONEK.

The YCL is the Soviet Union's biggest mass youth organisation uniting nearly 37 million young people.

"Young people were relegated to the background for so long that now it is simply necessary to make their participation in the dynamic process of perestroika conscious and try to understand young people if they refuse to take part in some undertakings."

"I do not see anything tragic in the reduction of the YCL membership," Mironenko went on to say. "The YCL membership has dropped several millions compared with three or four years ago. I attribute it to the self-cleansing mechanisms which have gone into operation in our organisation."

Viktor Mironenko favoured the idea that all matters concerning the admittance to and expulsion from the YCL should be passed over to more than half a million primary organisations. Now, they can elect their leadership freely without any pressure.

Touching upon the current policy of reducing the bureaucratic apparatus, the YCL leader noted that this process should not be carried out mechanically. According to him, regional YCL committees should decide for themselves what staff they need.

"I am categorically against any 'cleaning' of the YCL ranks, although I know that YCL has a lot of casual members," the first secretary went on to say.

"The YCL members should choose their fellow-members themselves. As for 'informal' youth groups, I think that a young person can be a member of the YCL and an informal group if, or course, this does not contradict the YCL Charter."

Viktor Mironenko emphasized the need to set up special divisions dealing with youth problems at the USSR State Planning Committee and the Social Development Bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers.

His second wish was to seek the setting up of a state youth fund or innovative bank, or to find some other form to finance social initiatives advanced by young people.

Mironenko said the YCL Central Committee was now working actively in that direction.

Gorbachev Addresses Komsomol

LD2910161188 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT
29 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament), made a speech today at a meeting with young people and veterans of Komsomol (Young Communist League) on the occasion of the 70th jubilee of the Leninist Young Communist League (YCL).

"The Komsomol", the Soviet leader said, "is an indispensable organisation, a political school for the young people of the socialist country. Notwithstanding all the difficulties and problems, all the trials and tribulations which the Komsomol has passed through, it has always been true to the ideals of the revolution."

Mikhail Gorbachev on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the veterans of the Komsomol and the party congratulated the younger generation and all Soviet people on the Komsomol jubilee.

Speaking of the role and place of the Komsomol in the life of the country's young people, the Soviet leader pointed out that the Komsomol had shared the destiny of the country which all people may be proud of. There were also tragic pages in that destiny, the speaker said.

"Now that history is being reassessed, society seeks to understand what happened and to get to know how all generations of Soviet people lived, how they will live, to evaluate their achievements and exploits, and to give due credit to their courage, staying-power, and sacrifices. This is a correct, truthful, and honest approach to the country's history, the approach which gives strength for the future, gives confidence, and adds faith in the ideals of the revolution and in the accomplishments of the people in continuation of the revolution. [No closing quotation mark as received]

Mikhail Gorbachev expressed satisfaction with young people's active participation in the changes taking place in the country, referring to their participation as an important achievement of perestroika (restructuring). The speaker pointed out that the destiny of perestroika depended to a decisive extent on young people's contribution.

Evaluating the path traversed by the country since April of 1985, the Soviet leader said that that had been a unique period full of Soviet people's profound reflections on the destiny of the country, the period of intense work on solutions to the problems which should be resolved by perestroika.

Among the major landmarks along the way Mikhail Gorbachev mentioned the 27th congress and the 19th conference of the CPSU. "It is precisely due to them that society is getting out of the difficult stagnation period over the years of which a great damage was done not only to the economy but to people's convictions as well. This told on the youth movement, too".

Speaking of the magnetic force of socialism, the speaker emphasized that the socialist idea was living on in all generations of Soviet people and that the belief in socialism had been retained. "This is why the Soviet people will accomplish the tasks of perestroika however difficult and complex they are".

Evaluating the course of perestroika, Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out that the theory and policy of perestroika had been elaborated in the Soviet Union.

"A large amount of persistent work had to be done to offer a realistic policy, a policy which would not only rely on the previous experience but would also put forward long-term goals and tasks", the speaker said. He appraised this achievement as the first and major triumph.

"The peculiarity of the present moment is", the Soviet leader said, "that time of action has come, for Komsomol as well".

"Society", he went on to say, "has been engaging in meetings for too long. Meetings, slogans, and criticisms should be followed by acts which would set the policy and the entire potential of society into motion".

Analyzing the processes taking place in society, the Soviet leader emphasized the importance of a revolutionary recasting of people's thinking. "There are few overt opponents of perestroika", Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out. "To all other people, the current period is a no easy time for reassessment of one's entire life and the life of the country and a search for new approaches, solutions and revival of forgotten values. This is why changes come about not so quickly as one would like them to".

"What should be done for the processes of perestroika to gather momentum and unfold on a larger scale? It is essential," Mikhail Gorbachev said, "to do concrete work in each work collective, in each town and village, relying on glasnost (openness) and democracy, on everything which has democratized economic life, and on what is taking place in the political process of the country, in the reorganization of the soviets (local governing councils), managerial bodies, and using everything that perestroika has already produced".

Touching upon economic tasks of perestroika, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized that it was necessary to orient the economy more strongly first of all to resolving the vital problems of people. He pointed out that means had already been found to increase appropriations for health care, public education, and science, and that immense efforts were being made to give proper dynamism to the agrarian sector.

"Of course, society is still far from radical changes", the speaker went on to say. "For perestroika to succeed, it is essential through democracy and openness and through a political reform to bring the individual back into the economic sphere and into the political process, and to eliminate the individual's alienation from property, from the means of production and from the political and cultural process."

"Herein," the Soviet leader stated, "is the meaning of the reform".

Mikhail Gorbachev said the reason for the failures of reforms which had been undertaken following Stalin's death had been that the people had not really joined in the processes in earnest.

"Komsomol should take a clear stand in the entire vast amount of perestroika work," Mikhail Gorbachev went on to say. "Discussions as to what kind of organization Komsomol should be are not yet over. But one thing is clear: Both the 70 years and the first years of perestroika have shown that young people need such a political organization as Komsomol".

"The Young Communist League", the speaker went on to say, "is the organization of young Communists who accept the party's program and are ready to cooperate with the party and to help it tackle political tasks and prepare the younger generation for assuming responsibility for society and for a continuation of the policy of the revolution in future."

"If there were no such organization now," the Soviet leader pointed out, "the Communists would do everything to create it. The Communists will welcome revival and revitalization of the entire life and activities of Komsomol on Leninist principles as the political organization of our young people", Mikhail Gorbachev said.

"Komsomol", Mikhail Gorbachev went on to say, "should participate in political life, go through the school of mastering the methods of the administration of the state, and act on the principles of self-management. These ideas will find reflection in a young people's law which is now being elaborated with Komsomol's participation."

The speaker emphasized the importance of the fact that young people now strongly gravitate towards politics. Discussions about socialism are under way. Young people want to gain an understanding of societal problems. In this process one should rely on the main thing: Lenin's legacy. In order to find answers to today's questions, one should learn Lenin's way of analyzing things, Lenin's method, dialectics, and approaches to the study of social processes".

"YCLers should not be deterred by difficulties," Mikhail Gorbachev remarked, "and should not be embarrassed by novelty. The older generation have found themselves in the same position. Life calls for perestroika in all people's thinking".

"The old methods, those of ruling by orders and decrees, are now being reassessed. All those methods should be redigested and discarded," Mikhail Gorbachev said.

"The quicker Soviet society masters new active methods of organizational and practical work and new forms of human contacts, the quicker perestroika will proceed. And the greater success will be guaranteed for it," the Soviet leader emphasized.

"The party of the Communists strongly counts on Komsomol, on young people in its work to ensure and attain the objectives of the great revolutionary perestroika which is the direct continuation of the cause of the October Revolution, the cause of Lenin", Mikhail Gorbachev stated in conclusion.

Further Report on Speech

LD2910203088 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1804 GMT 29 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU general secretary and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at a meeting on 29 October at the Palace of Youth to mark the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Komsomol—recorded]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee delegation—and I think we will be joined in expressing thanks by Komsomol and party veterans—and I are very glad to be with you on this day, the day of the 70th anniversary of the Komsomol, dear friends, to talk about our Komsomol affairs and the affairs of our great country. [applause] I congratulate you on a great event. Through you, I congratulate the Komsomol members and the young people of the capital and of Moscow Oblast. I greet the youth of the country and all Soviet people, for the Komsomol is the kind of organization with which perhaps the very best years of every generation of our people are linked. [applause]

Linked with the Communist Youth League are our first experiences in carrying out political work, our first important actions in life, our first joys, and our first grief. Overall the whole 70 years have shown that the Komsomol is an irreplaceable organization and political school for the young people of the country of socialism. Despite all the difficulties and problems, despite all the trials through which it has passed, the Komsomol—and the generations linked with the Komsomol—was always with the country, has turned out to be true to the ideals of the revolution, and has done much to ensure that our country is of the kind that it is today: making an enormous contribution to the progress of all mankind in the world. Let us today, therefore, do what is required of us, those who are living today, both Komsomol members and also those beyond Komsomol age; let us pay our deepest respects to the labor and the struggle and to all generations of Komsomol members. [applause]

I have had brief meetings here and among them was a meeting with Komsomol and party veterans. I can see them occupying places of honor. Let us stand up and welcome them, and through them all the generations of our Komsomol... [Gorbachev is interrupted by applause] Thank you. People always went into the Komsomol not in order to get on—although in recent years this has been the case too—but people went into the Komsomol in order to feel involved and do something for the revolution. The Komsomol shared the country's destiny. Our destiny is important and we can be proud of it.

In the history of our country, the destiny of our country and people, there are also many things that not only make us uneasy but trouble us. The tragic pages in our history trouble us. As a whole society we are deeply disturbed by what happened in the years of the cult of

personality. But we are learning lessons from this. In talking about all this, I think you will agree with me, we nonetheless can see the whole country, all generations, all the affairs of our people, and everything that we have managed to do, go through, endure, and experience reflected in this. This vision teaches us a great lesson about life. It provides an incentive for contemporary matters when we have embarked on a course of revolutionary restructuring.

We look back—this was said at the 20th Komsomol Congress—without lowering our gaze, for the whole of these 70 years have been imbued with the struggle for the ideas of the revolution, although this struggle by our people, the party, and the Komsomol was burdened by the tragic events that I have already mentioned. Today when we are giving meaning to history—this is precisely the occasion when it is possible to return to it once again—we do this in order to understand what happened, to look into the way in which all generations of Soviet people lived, the way in which they labored, what they believed in, to evaluate their achievements and their feats, to understand and to give proper due to their courage, their endurance, and their sacrifices. This, I think, is the only correct, truthful, and honest approach to history, to our history, which gives us strength for the future, confidence, and adds to our faith in the ideals of the revolution and the things we are doing today in continuing that revolution. [applause]

I am very moved and gladdened by the conversations that have taken place at this wonderful Palace of Youth. First and foremost, I am gladdened by the fact that young people have accepted restructuring. I want to tell you that restructuring will triumph only—and will achieve its goal—only if it is accepted by young people. What I have heard today [applause]—the support of young people—this has gladdened me.

Both today and tomorrow especially, the success of restructuring depends to a decisive degree on the contribution of young people. In general, it can be said that restructuring is your cause for many years, and that is the attitude you should take toward restructuring. The fact that I have felt that our young people have just such an attitude and understanding of the significance of restructuring for the destiny of the country, and for the personal destiny of everyone—this seems to me the main achievement of restructuring over these first difficult 3 years. I congratulate you on your choice—that is how I have understood it, that you have firmly taken the path of restructuring and will proceed at a firm pace along this path. [applause]

Gorbachev Cited on Komsomol Role

LD2910224488 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 29 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report over video by unidentified correspondent on visit by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU general secretary and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the Palace of Youth in Moscow on 29 October—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The Palace of Youth in Moscow: Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has come here to meet the Komsomols of the capital. [video shows Gorbachev

arriving with a large group of officials] He viewed the exhibition "The Moscow Komsomol Welcomes the 70th Anniversary of the All-Union Komsomol." [video shows exhibits] This exhibition is not self-praise for the jubilee: There is a businesslike, working atmosphere here. The exhibition has been on at the Palace of Youth for 6 days, and for 6 days the young men and women have been coming here to tell of what has been done in the city's Komsomol organizations and to acquaint themselves with the most promising areas of the work of the youth union.

[Gorbachev] [Video shows Gorbachev addressing young people, Raisa Gorbacheva, Lev Zaykov standing behind Raisa] Well done, boys and girls! You know, it is good that the Komsomol has now turned toward life—toward life. Both in political and in economic and cultural affairs—in everything—it is good! Because everything else passes, but this remains. This is life. Life is the main thing.

[Correspondent] The development of principles for independent activity in Komsomol life and the initiative of the young can bring real benefits to the country. The restructuring of the economy, financial autonomy, and the development of leasing in the countryside—these are also concerns of the young. Here is one example: An experimental market garden complex for young people. [video shows Gorbachev and Zaykov inspecting model] Its design was shown to Mikhail Sergeyevich. Here 170 families got together on inconvenient land near Moscow and formed a gardening association, which is today producing its first, quite good, results. Here is what the young architects think one of the future settlements will look like. In other sections of the exhibition—"Students of the Eighties, Scientific-Technical Creativeness of Youth, Moscow Student Detachment"—there was lively discussion of the contribution of the Komsomols to the development of science and the acceleration of the introduction of the most interesting inventions and discoveries of young scientists, engineers, and technicians into production. [video shows Gorbachev chatting in background to two young women as correspondent speaks] And are you pleased? Are they pleased with you? The setting up of leisure centers and hobby clubs, creative associations, and studios is also an integral aspect of the life of young people. Refusal to tolerate routine and all that pulls us back, this is in the best tradition of the Leninist youth union, which it is necessary to revive today.

[Gorbachev] You know what I was pleased about? Only now even after... [Gorbachev changes thought] Since the 20th Komsomol Congress, only now has a true search, a reinterpretation, begun: Something serious is happening in our Komsomol. Not unambiguously, immoderately at times; but there is a desire to bring back the real spirit of that political organization. And let it be such. Let there be, alongside associations of boys and girls, according to their interests, clubs. And let there be Komsomols there; but there must be a political organization, as Lenin

intended. A forest will not grow without undergrowth; it will die. The party, unless there is at its side a militant political youth organization that shares the party's aims, will also die. We, generally speaking, are anxious for the Komsomol first and foremost, because it is both the successor of the departing generations and the successor of the Communists. Therefore, the Komsomol, Komsomol, Komsomol!

[Correspondent] The Komsomol tradition. In these days, special attention is being paid to the Komsomols of the twenties and thirties. [video shows Gorbachev chatting with veterans] In the Lenin Hall of the Palace of Youth, Mikhail Sergeyevich had a conversation with Komsomol veterans.

[Gorbachev] Not one generation of Komsomols....

Urges Defense of Restructuring

LD3010001788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1930 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Text] [Announcer] How can fuller use be made of the civic and creative potential of the Komsomol? This question is now a main one for the Komsomol, a decisive one for every one of its members. It also became the central issue on the agenda of the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the young people of the capital. The Moscow Komsomol Meets the 70th anniversary of the All-Union Komsomol—this was the slogan of an exhibition being held at the Moscow Palace of Youth, where this meeting took place today. The extremely businesslike nature of the exhibition, the absence of any suspicion of things being done for show or for the sake of an anniversary report—all of this immediately created an atmosphere of businesslike, comradely dialogue between the party leader and the Moscow Komsomol members. Here is an excerpt from this dialogue:

[Unidentified man] This whole turn in the press—the fact that (?they have lifted) subscription restrictions—is a very good step toward restructuring truly becoming irreversible.

[Gorbachev] Have you begun to suspect that someone wants to curtail it?

[Man] Not only I. Many in the Komsomol suspect it.

[Gorbachev] You know, the fact that you are concerned about restructuring, that is the main thing for me. Well done. Watch out: If anyone, anywhere, drags it down, stop them. That is my [words indistinct]. It is your cause, it is your destiny. Regarding what happened with the press, I must say that this is not some sort of (?relapse) or conservatism or anything like that, or someone's whim; no, no. This is... [Gorbachev changes thought] I will tell you, a search for paper has taken place in our country. We have now brought everything out, literally, everything that could be done from inside. We addressed the workers. The literature that we found that could be cut

back on, we cut back on it and found paper from there. We have cut down on all offices and taken paper away from them. There will not be any restrictions, and we have already planned—we have not simply thought about it, it is already being done—to add 500,000 tons of paper and remove this problem once and for all.

[Man] [words indistinct]

[Gorbachev] You know why they were held? If we are to seriously [word indistinct], and we and you have to—meetings have already been held, we have got to know one another [words indistinct]. This policy now has to be put into effect, into practice. You share this policy, but you have to take part in all the political processes. The Komsomol must have its say on any question, and it must be present in this political process. Did you notice that we have given the Komsomol, that we have put it down alongside the party, so that the Komsomol should send its delegates, apart from the fact that youth is already represented, but so that it should be there as an organization, too?

[Man] Why will there be so few delegates represented? [laughter]

[Gorbachev] No! That is what the Komsomol has, the Komsomol through the decision of the plenum—that is, you yourselves. What about the constituencies? I think there will be no less than one-third, young people and the Komsomol.

Answers Questions After Speech

LD2910212988 Moscow TASS in English 2043 GMT
29 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—Following Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in the conference hall of the capital's Youth Palace, there ensued a lively exchange of opinions between him and participants in the meeting.

In answer to the question about the possibility of Komsomol's representation in the CPSU Central Committee, the representation which would make it possible better to take into account the young people's attitude in the adoption of major decisions, he agreed with such a presentation of the problem. He said this should be considered before the next congress of the party.

Touching upon the activities of volunteer societies in the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev said that a law on such associations was in the works. Such a law is expected to be adopted at the first congress of people's deputies in spring next year.

The question of a norm of Komsomol's representation in the soviets (councils) of people's deputies was also touched upon during the conversation. The Soviet leader disagreed with the opinion that the draft laws on suggested changes in the Constitution of the USSR and on elections in the USSR ostensibly encroach upon the

interests of the youth organisation. He voiced conviction that Komsomol would be represented in the government bodies on a par with other public organisations.

A question was also asked about a procedure for regulating the social composition of the CPSU. Mikhail Gorbachev said the main thing was a candidate's business qualities, and not his or her social origin.

"The point is to set higher demands upon the selection of people for joining the CPSU. The party," the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said, "is in need of people devoted to the great idea. With this end in view, a thorough selection of candidates in primary party organisations is essential".

"It would be appropriate and justified in this respect to take into account the opinion of Komsomol and non-party people about the candidate", he emphasized. "It is precisely democratisation that should ensure an influx of worthy people to the CPSU."

Mikhail Gorbachev answered a number of other questions asked by those present.

Demidov on Komsomol Changes

LD3010013788 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT
29 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov writes:

One hundred thousand Soviet young people went to major Soviet construction sites this year, responding to the call of the Leninist Young Communist League, YCL, known here as the Komsomol. This is only one concrete example of the activities of the Soviet Komsomol marking its 70th anniversary today.

The Young Communist League has nearly 37 million members.

Formed in 1917, the YCL lived through many difficult periods, including the time of Stalinist purges and the so-called "years of stagnation". It was exactly in those periods that the YCL leaders developed the inertia of thinking and the bureaucratic apparatus was formed. The recent analysis carried out by the scientific-research center under the YCL Central Committee showed that the number of YCL members had dropped by nearly five million over the past four years. However, Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the YCL Central Committee, does not see anything tragic in the shrinking of the YCL ranks. He thinks this is the result of the "invigorating process of self-cleansing" taking place in the YCL.

The 20th congress of the Young Communist League, held last year, was a "revolutionary congress." It gave a critical analysis of the situation in the YCL and outlined the ways of its democratisation. Although the YCL has failed to get rid completely of the years-old stereotypes,

the situation has changed over the year that passed after the congress. According to YCL leaders, they have managed to involve young people in a more active participation in the life of the country and Soviet society.

Statistics show that every third worker in the national economy and every fifth industrial executive or expert engaged in production is a person under 30 years old. 120,000 Soviet scientists, one third of farmers and 40 percent of experts are also younger than 30.

The restructuring in the activity of the Soviet youth organization is linked with the need to ensure its financial independence. Only then, knowing the needs of young people in a concrete town, district or at an enterprise, will YCL organisations be able to help them resolve many issues.

Over the past two years alone, more than 2,000 youth cooperatives have been set up. The products manufactured by these cooperatives and the services they rendered were worth 40 million roubles in 1987. More than 80,000 YCL teams were set up in the branches of the agri-industrial complex. Half of them are working on the lease contract terms.

Economically independent Komsomol can now help backward collective farms and, so, the young people working on them. YCL committees are helping 1,500 such farms. More than 70,000 young people decided to go to economically backward state and collective farms last year after an opportunity to take things in their own hands opened up in agriculture as well.

And yet it would have been extremely difficult to overcome the still existing mistrust to the YCL, had not the Komsomol started to revise fundamentally its own structure and management mechanism. Previously, the YCL organised its work according to "from top to bottom principle", when leaders at the top sent out their instructions to the doers below. Now, the YCL is focussing its work on the initiatives and interests of the people below.

Further Reportage on Supreme Soviet Session

Aushkap Comments on 'Shortages'

LD2810114588 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 27 October broadcasts a 3.5-minute report on a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation held in Moscow on 27 October.

Moscow correspondent Lyudmilla Semina reports that the deputies finished discussing the state plan for economic and social development and the state budget for 1989 some 30 minutes ago. Semina says that discussion dealt with the question of improving services to the consumer and the supply of consumer goods.

Semina interviews Erik Yanovich Aushkap, chairman of the Preparatory Commission on Consumer Goods and Services to the Population and chairman of the Latvian Committee for People's Control. Semina suggests to Aushkap that rapid changes are not expected in this economic sphere.

Aushkap says: "I must say that our plan for next year goes beyond the tasks set by the 5-year plan. For light industry goods, it is in the order of R2.3 billion, and for consumer durables and commodities it is R8.5 billion."

Aushkap adds that it is planned to manufacture, over and above the quantities set by the plan, color television sets, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, furniture, wallpaper, and knitwear. He does not give any figures.

Aushkap says that he foresees the possibility of not being able to satisfy consumer demand for goods in short supply. He says that according to the estimates of the USSR Goskomstat approximately R40 billion-worth of the demand for nonfood products remains unsatisfied. Aushkap adds that this constitutes some 17 per cent of goods turnover. The situation with regard to building materials remains complicated—only 70 percent of demand will be satisfied. Aushkap says that there are shortages of basic building materials and that food products, shoes, and clothes are all problematic.

Semina asks how the deputies plan to deal with the problem of shortages. Aushkap says that the problems are not new. They are tied in with the appropriate use of resources, with the question of quality, with questions of having a balanced plan, and with providing the necessary living conditions for workers. Aushkap adds that funds amounting to an additional R250 million have recently been made available to light industry and the building industry for increasing the supply of raw materials.

Aushkap then goes on to deal with the question of pricing and refers to the unacceptability of retail prices being increased without a corresponding improvement in quality. He says that the entire increase in light industry output was achieved on account of the increase in prices. He says that he supports an increase in the production of fashionable goods, but not to the detriment of the quantities of inexpensive goods being produced.

Asked what can be done to solve these problems, Aushkap says that despite a shortage of raw materials and resources, goods that are not required by the consumer continue to be produced. He says that enterprises must work efficiently. Aushkap points to the need for a sensible use of the resources that are available and to developing the right attitude in people toward work. Aushkap concludes by saying that the necessary measures should be adopted to ensure that working time is not lost.

Morning Session Summarized

LD2810110388 Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT
28 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—The Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR, in the second day of session, today continued the discussion of the draft plan for the country's social and economic development and the draft budget for 1989.

The debate is being held separately in the two houses of the Soviet Parliament, the Council of Nationalities and the Council of the Union.

Problems in the way of the development of the constituent republics were in the focus of attention in the Council of Nationalities.

Nikolay Maslennikov, chairman of the plan and budgetary commission of this house, making a co-report of the standing commissions, drew attention to the fact that the next year plan had taken into account the greater economic independence of individual republics of the USSR and their national features.

The plan offers opportunities for the economic initiative of local governing bodies. This is one of the most important differences from the plans adopted in the previous years.

The head of the Belorussian government, Mikhail Kovalyev, hydro-electric power plant builder Mikhail Tsiskaoishvili of Georgia, Rector of Vilnius University Jonas Kubilius (Lithuania) and other deputies criticised the central ministries for their attempts to handle issues of developing individual branches without taking into account the interests of the republics concerned.

Full support was expressed for the position of the government which decided to start an experiment with territorial self-financing in Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Tatar autonomous republic, the Sverdlovsk region in the Russian Federation and Moscow.

In the afternoon, both houses will continue separate debates on the draft plan and budget. The adoption of the documents is expected later, at a joint sitting of the two houses.

Second Sitzings Open 28 Oct

LD2810132488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1130 GMT 28 Oct 88

[Text] As we have already reported, the 11th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation continues its work in the Kremlin.

The second sitting of the Soviet of the Union opened in the Great Kremlin Palace at 1400 [1100 GMT]. Taking part in it are Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Shcherbitskiy, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, Solovyev, Talyzin, and Baklanov.

At the same time, the second sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities opened in the Sessions Hall of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Taking part in the sitting are Comrades Chebrikov, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, and Yazov. The deputies are discussing questions of the plan and budget of the country.

Debates on Plan, Budget Resume

LD2810140888 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT
28 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—Both houses of the Soviet parliament, the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, resumed debates on the draft plan and budget for 1989 this afternoon.

The rector of Moscow University, Anatoliy Logunov, addressing the sitting of the Soviet of the Union, emphasised that the draft plan and budget largely reflected the social re-orientation of the country's economy.

Academician Logunov expressed satisfaction with the considerable growth of allocations for the development of science and education, fixed in the national budget for the next year.

"But allocations alone are not enough," he observed. "It is necessary to raise standards in the production of computers and precision instruments used in educational process and in scientific research."

"Local governing bodies, or soviets, are to play a great part in implementing the plans which we are discussing today," said Yevgeniy Bashmakov, first deputy chairman of Kazakhstan's Council of Ministers.

In Kazakhstan, a republic in Soviet Central Asia, he said, local councils were becoming increasingly active.

He cited a recent incident when a small district council engaged in struggle against two major central ministries and, assisted by republican organisations, won the case.

"Our society has timely paid attention to the problem of the Aral Sea that nearly disappeared due to departmentalism and incompetence on the part of the local authorities," the deputies were told by Kakimbek Salykov, first secretary of the Karakalpak Regional Committee of Uzbekistan's Communist Party.

The republic's working people welcomed the recent government decree on measures to preserve the Aral Sea, he said. They were pleased with the fact that the work on implementing the project would be included in the next year plan.

In the Council of Nationalities, the draft plan and budget were analysed primarily from the viewpoint of individual republics.

Mikhail Tsiskarishvili, a hydro-electric power plant builder from Georgia, observed that the drafts considered by the session provided for necessary conditions for the successful performance of the republic.

But, there were very important issues that needed solution, he said. "One of them is ensuring stable electricity supply. By electricity generation per capita of the population, Georgia stands at 50 per cent of the national average."

The deputy proposed including the designing and construction of thermal power plants in Tbilisi and Kutaisi in the plan.

An Estonian trade union leader spoke with alarm about the worsening of the ecological situation in many parts of the republic.

Endel Paap, chairman of the Estonian Territorial Committee of the Union of Coal Mining Workers, noted that the extra allocations for environmental protection envisaged for the next year would not be effective enough unless the heads of the coal and chemical industries whose enterprises were built in that Baltic republic demonstrated by deeds their intention to relieve the tense ecological situation.

Avgust Zitmanis, chairman of the Latvian Trade Union Council, also voiced concern over the ecological situation in his republic.

The two houses at a joint sitting in the evening are expected to vote on the draft plan and budget.

Maslyukov, Gostev Closing Remarks

LD2810183788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1518 GMT 28 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 28 Oct (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) has passed the USSR plan and budget for 1989.

At the joint sitting of the two chambers this evening a concluding speech on the draft plan was delivered by Anatoliy Maslyukov, chairman of the State Planning Committee. He noted the high level of discussion on the draft plan, said that the "plan had undergone a harsh, public, expert examination," and told of the adoption of

deputies' amendments and observations. Maslyukov dwelled on the problem of regional self-financing and said that its principles are now being worked out in a government commission.

The deputies of the Soviet parliament then unanimously passed the USSR State Plan for economic and social development for the year 1989 with the amendments proposed by the preparatory deputies' commissions. Thus next year it is envisaged to increase the country's national income by 3.8 percent. The volume of industrial output will increase by 4 percent (including the volume of consumer goods by 7 percent). The rate of growth of agricultural output will amount to 2 percent. Real income will increase by 3.1 percent per capita.

A concluding speech on the draft budget was delivered by USSR Finance Minister Boris Gostev. He noted that thanks to the vigorous work of the deputies' commissions and on the basis of their proposals it had been possible to reduce the planned budget deficit by over R1 billion. Taking into account the amendments proposed by the preparatory commissions of the Supreme Soviet, the session passed the USSR State Budget for 1989 with a deficit of R34.9 billion.

Joint Session Attendees Listed

LD2810184188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Oct 88

[Text] The session of the country's Supreme Soviet closed in the Kremlin today. The first session of the Soviet of Nationalities took place in the morning. Then, at 1400, the second separate sessions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet started. The main topic of discussion at the session was the country's draft plan and budget for 1989.

At 1700 in the Great Kremlin Palace, the second joint session of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities opened. Those in the hall welcomed with applause Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Shcherbitskiy, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Solovyev, Talyzin, Yazov, and Baklanov. The joint session was devoted to the adoption of laws on the country's plan and budget for next year and other session documents.

Session Ends; Plan, Budget Endorsed

LD2810164288 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 28 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—The two-day session of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) ended in the Kremlin today. After a detailed discussion of the documents (debates involved 40 people) the deputies endorsed the plan for the country's socio-economic development and the 1989 budget.

The growth of the national income is planned to achieve 3.8 per cent. The volume of industrial and agricultural output will rise 4 and 2 per cent respectively.

The plan and the budget provide for a wide-ranging complex of measures to significantly improve the people's well-being. For example, two thirds of the state's expenditures will be channeled into raising the standard of living.

During the discussion of the budget the MPs found ways of reducing the deficit from 36.2 billion roubles (which is roughly 7 per cent of the budget) to 34.9 billion roubles. The parliament instructed the government and sectoral ministries to embark on a course of reducing spending, primarily by combating mismanagement.

The deputies considered decrees adopted by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet over a period which had passed since the previous session. The decrees adopted this summer on the procedure of organising and holding assemblies and meetings, and also on the responsibilities and rights of the troops of the Soviet Interior Ministry in protecting public order caused debates. One of the deputies, who found them to be insufficiently clear, proposed that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet revise those documents. That point of view did not find support. All the decrees were endorsed by an absolute majority of votes.

Decree on 1988 Plan Issued

PM3110100588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Decree on the Progress in Fulfilling the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1988—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] Moscow, Kremlin, 28 Oct 1988—The USSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. That note be taken of the USSR Council of Ministers report on the progress in fulfilling the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1988.

That it be noted that the USSR Council of Ministers is taking the necessary measures to fulfill it.

2. That the USSR Council of Ministers be instructed to examine the proposals and remarks of the budget and planning commissions and other permanent commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities and also the proposals and remarks expressed by deputies at sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers and take the relevant decisions on their basis.

M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Law on State Plan Published

PM3110114188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[USSR Law "On the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1989"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] Moscow, Kremlin, 28 Oct 1988—The USSR Supreme Soviet decrees that:

Article 1. The State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1989 submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers be ratified, taking into account the amendments of the budget and planning commissions, industrial commissions, energy commissions, transport and communications commissions, construction and construction materials industry commissions, agro-industrial complex commissions, science and technology commissions, consumer goods and services commissions, communal housing and municipal economy commissions, foreign affairs commissions, health and social security commissions, public education and culture commissions, maternity, child development, and the work and life of women commissions, youth affairs commissions, and conservation and utilization of natural resources commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

The practical implementation of the instructions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on problems of the country's socioeconomic development be considered the main avenue for the work of all soviet and economic organs in 1989. To this end, relying on the processes of the democratization of society, the increase in the social and political activeness of all its strata, and the measures which are being implemented to restructure the political system and to develop glasnost, all organizational and economic activity must be directed toward accelerating the solution of urgent problems of the people's welfare on the basis of progressive changes in the structure of social production, the ensuring of its steady and dynamic development, the increased efficiency and enhanced role of intensive factors of economic growth, and the implementation of a strict regime of thrift for all types of resources.

Article 2. The following most important general economic indicators for the development of the USSR's national economy for 1989 be set:

Growth as percentage of 1988 plan gross national product	4.5
National income produced	3.8
Real income per capita	3.1
Social consumption funds	8.2

Total volume of retail trade turnover	6.1
Volume of sale of paid services to the population	8.1
Labor productivity:	
in industry	4.6
in construction	4.1
in rail transport	4.9
Profit for the national economy	6
Capital investments in the national economy from all sources of financing	2.3

With a view to fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the social program for the 12th 5-Year Plan, the following measures to improve the people's living standard must be implemented in 1989 on a centralized basis:

The gradual increase in wages for health and social security workers must be continued;

New salaries and wages for individual categories of cultural workers must be introduced;

An increase in salaries and wages for VUZ professors and teachers must be embarked on;

A start must be made on a gradual, region-by-region increase in the duration of partly paid leave for mothers to look after a child until it reaches the age of 18 months, at the same time giving them the right to additional unpaid leave until the child reaches the age of 2;

The age of children for whom benefits are paid to badly off families should be increased from 8 to 12.

R4.2 billion should be channeled from the state budget to implement centralized measures to improve the people's living standard.

The liquidation of state internal loans should be continued to the sum of R1.4 billion.

Article 3. In accordance with the course toward the economy's social reorientation, the further consolidation of the material base of the sociocultural sphere must be ensured and the following be commissioned in 1989 from all sources of financing:

Apartment blocks with a total area in millions of square meters	134.2
Preschool institutions, thousands of places	985.8
General education schools, thousands of places	1708
Clubs and culture centers, thousands of places	494.6
Hospitals, thousands of beds	76.7
Mobile polyclinic institutions, thousands of visits per shift	211
Residential homes for the elderly and invalids, thousands of places	19.2

Article 4. The union and autonomous republic supreme soviets and local soviets of people's deputies must focus their attention on the solution of the task of achieving, as early as 1989, advances which all Soviet people can feel in the improvement of food supplies, the fuller satisfaction of people's requirements for nonfood goods and various services, and the improvement of the organization of trade and public catering. To this end the maximum use must be made of local potential and enterprises and associations must be widely enlisted to the production of consumer goods and the development of the services sphere irrespective of their departmental subordination, seeking to balance the population's effective demand against the volumes of output of consumer goods and of paid services rendered.

Article 5. Considering that the transition to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing for enterprises of all production sectors of the national economy is being completed in 1989, the USSR Council of Ministers, union republic councils of ministers, USSR ministries and state committees and departments, and intersectorial state associations must ensure the implementation of measures to develop collaboration between all elements of the new economic mechanism, to further develop democratic principles and economic methods in production management, to expand the use of the economic accountability form based on the normative distribution of income and long-term leasing relations, and to develop the cooperative movement and individual labor activity.

Article 6. The union and autonomous republics' councils of ministers and the local soviets of people's deputies must make all-around use of the rights granted them for the comprehensive solution of economic, social, and nature conservation tasks, ensuring the optimum combination of regional interests and statewide interests, and must implement the necessary measures to increase the effectiveness of the management of the national economy on the relevant territories and to prepare for the transition to the principles of regional self-financing.

The USSR Council of Ministers and the councils of ministers of the relevant union republics must organize the implementation of an experiment to test out these principles in the Belorussian SSR, Latvian SSR, Lithuanian SSR, Estonian SSR, Tatar ASSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, and Moscow City.

Article 7. The USSR Council of Ministers should be instructed to examine the proposals and remarks set forth in the conclusion of the Budget and Planning and other permanent commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities for the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1989 and the proposals and remarks expressed at sessions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, and the relevant decisions be made on their basis.

M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Supreme Soviet To Hold 'Special Session' 29 Nov
LD2910065188 Moscow TASS in English 0649 GMT
29 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—The Soviet parliament is to hold a special session November 29, under a decree of its higher body.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet said in a decree issued here that the agenda will be as follows:

- The tasks of upgrading the structure and activities of state power agencies and judicial bodies in the light of the decisions of the 19th national party conference,

- The issue of elections of people's deputies.

Moscow Party Committee Faces 30-Percent Cut
LD2810070788 Moscow TASS in English 0658 GMT
28 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—The staff of the Moscow party committee is being cut by one-third and its structure as well as the structure of district party committees in the capital is being changed, the newspaper PRAVDA reported today.

Branch departments are closing down, while units engaged in organisational and ideological work are being reinforced in keeping with the decisions of the 19th national party conference.

Functions of the newly established social and economic departments are to be changed in principle.

As a result of the reorganisation in the Moscow party committee, the overall number of departments has been reduced from 17 to seven. The staff of the city committee is being cut by 30 percent.

Lev Zaykov, the Moscow party leader, pointed out at the latest session of the city committee bureau that the point at issue were functionaries most of whom possessed valuable skills and high political, business and moral properties.

A third of the staff positions to be released will be handed over to district committees.

The bureau of the Moscow city party committee decided to use the reduction of the committee staff to reinforce local governing and economic bodies in the city.

"Transition to a new organisational setup will make it possible to be closer to the city's vital needs, avoid duplicating the work of local government and economic bodies, enhance the political character of party leadership, focus attention on the solution of organisational and educational tasks and increase the Muscovites' activity in furthering perestroika," PRAVDA said.

New Government Appointments Reported

PM2810150588 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOBRA-NIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSSR (OTDEL PERVYY) in Russian No 27, 1988 carries on pages 486-487 two resolutions on government appointments.

The resolution on page 486 notes the appointment of I.P. Aboimov as USSR deputy foreign minister. It is signed by N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and M. Smirnyukov, USSR Council of Ministers administrator of affairs, and dated 27 April 1988.

The resolution on page 487 announces the appointment of V.N. Kulagin as USSR first deputy minister of petroleum refining and petrochemical industry. It is signed by Ryzhkov and Smirnyukov and is dated 28 April.

Moscow SOBANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSSR (OTDEL PERVYY) in Russian No 28, 1988 carries on page 502 two resolutions on government appointments signed by N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and M. Smirnyukov, USSR Council of Ministers administrator of affairs.

The first resolution notes the appointment of A.I. Pisenko as first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Forests, and is dated 4 May 1988.

The second resolution notes the appointment of I.N. Denisov as USSR first deputy minister of health and the release of O.P. Shchepina from this office "in connection with transfer to other work." It is dated 21 June 1988.

Sakharov: Promises on Prisoners 'Not Enough'
AU2910142688 Paris AFP in English 1412 GMT
29 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct 29 (AFP)—Andrey Sakharov, the Soviet physicist and human rights activist, said Saturday that the announcement of the release of all of the Soviet Union's political prisoners is not enough to accept holding a conference on human rights in Moscow.

"We need actions, not promises," Mr. Sakharov said in an interview with AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE. "We also need to see the release of all those kept in psychiatric hospitals because of their political activities."

France and West Germany have given their tentative agreement to holding a human rights conference in Moscow in 1991 as part of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, underway in Vienna.

Mr. Sakharov declined to estimate how many political prisoners were being held in the Soviet Union.

He was participating this weekend in a conference staged by a movement called "Memorial"—created to study Stalin-era abuses of power—that gathered 500 guests at the Film-Makers House in Moscow.

The guests strongly applauded a proposal to nominate Mr. Sakharov as a Memorial candidate to the new parliament to be created next March.

Opens 'Memorial' Conference

*LD3010015788 Moscow World Service in English
1810 GMT 29 Oct 88*

[Text] A national society seeking to commemorate the victims of Stalin's repressions has opened its conference in Moscow. Radio Moscow's reporter Helen Sarkisyan has attended the opening and here is her story:

[Sarkisyan] The conference gathered former inmates of Stalin's labor camps from all over the country, delegates from several cultural unions that founded the Memorial society, and members of the society's public council, named in opinion polls.

The conference was opened by the honorary chairman of the Memorial movement, member of the national Academy of Sciences Dr Andrey Sakharov. In part he said this:

[Begin Sakharov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The aim of the Memorial society is not only to put up a monument to the victims of repression but to create a memorial complex, a center of memory of and research into everything connected with that period in our history and its effects on the lives of the people. It is the lives of people both known and yet unknown that should be the focus of our attention. We should collect archives, a museum, and a library, and support initiatives all over the nation. There is no city or village in this country without a trace of the Stalinist abuse of justice and crimes. These traces will remain forever in people's minds. [end recording]

Sarkisyan Andrey Sakharov then gave the floor to the chairman of the Designers' Union, (Yuriy Solovyev). That union is one of the founders of the Memorial society. (Yuriy Solovyev) announced that the founders and the public council had sent a letter to the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, explaining the movement's aims and programme.

[Begin (Solovyev) recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] In that letter we informed Mikhail Gorbachev about the current conference and asked for assistance in holding a founding congress. [end recording]

[Sarkisyan] Andrey Sakharov told the conference that Mikhail Gorbachev had replied to the message by telephone, saying that he and the members of the government fully supported the movement.

After that, debates on the society's future rules and structure were held. All speakers said that it should be the Memorial's main aim to produce a moral climate in society that would rule out a repetition of Stalinism. During question time at the end of the first day of the conference, the leader of the Memorial society, Andrey Sakharov, said the society itself and the future memorial complex should not be seen as just an assessment of the past.

[Begin Sakharov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The Memorial is also our present day because the renewal that has been going on all over the country will fail to meet its ends if we fail to become aware of the past. It is also our future, since the moral revival is giving birth to today. [end recording]

[Sarkisyan] Andrey Sakharov and some other members of the Memorial society's public council believe that the movement must not confine itself to the condemnation of Stalin's repression. The abuse of the law continued under Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev, although on a much smaller scale. But the victims of these repressions must be exonerated too. Andrey Sakharov said considerable progress had been achieved toward this goal, yet he called on the Memorial society to make its own contribution.

[Begin Sakharov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] Our country must be cleared of all this, and the participation of the Memorial society is a form of moral purification and repentance. All of us are responsible for what is taking place in this country. [end recording]

[Sarkisyan] That's how the member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences Andrey Sakharov sees the aims of the Memorial society, of which he is honorary chairman.

Government Newspaper Planned for 1989

*LD2910094488 Moscow TASS in English 0926 GMT
29 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—The PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK (GOVERNMENT NEWS) newspaper, organ of the USSR starting from January 1989. The newspaper will regularly inform the public of the activities of the government and publish articles dealing with topical problems of the economic, public and cultural

life of the country on the crucial stage of perestroika. Statesmen, leading scientists, specialists and economic executives will contribute their articles to the new publication.

It is planned to publish reports from sessions of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union and union republics, to cover the process of the working out of major government decisions, their adoption and the analysis of their fulfillment. The newspaper will publish as well analytical reviews, comments on statistical data and the results of sociological studies. PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK will write about intergovernmental contacts with friendly socialist countries, with capitalist and developing states.

The work of the newspaper will be aimed at expanding glasnost with regard to the activities of the USSR Council of Ministers, the central economic bodies, ministries and organizations.

The newspaper intends to regularly inform its readers of the reaction of government bodies to criticism contained in mass media reports and in the letters of working people, to analyze letters coming to the USSR Council of Ministers, to sum up advanced experience of economic management, proposals and observations of labour collective and separate individuals on topical problems of perestroika. All this will create a sort of a mechanism with the help of which it will be possible to reveal the state of public opinion on the acute problems of our present-day reality and on the basis of it to work out proposals for taking specific management decisions. The point at issue is the organization of two-way communication between the public and state management bodies, as well as the establishment of public control over the activities of supreme bodies of state power. It is planned to publish in the newspaper articles about the historic experience of socialist development in the USSR and other countries, as well as about the economic performance of other countries.

PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK will be brought out once in two weeks. The cost of one issue will be 15 kopecks. The cost of annual subscription is 3 roubles 90 kopecks. The index is 50105. Organizations, enterprises and individuals will be able to subscribe to the newspaper from November 1 to November 30 1988. PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK will be distributed as well through the network of newspapers stands.

Ministry Reverses Subscription Limits Decision
LD2810220288 Kiev in English to North America
0030 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Excerpts] At the end of the summer the Ministry of Communications announced that not all subscribers will be able to receive popular newspapers and magazines. Very few people were prepared to believe that the only reason for the subscription limitation is the scarcity of paper in the country and insufficient printing capacities.

Spokes in the wheels of perestroika! Deliberate rationing of glasnost! That was how most radical adherents of restructuring called this decision. Last week this issue was eventually solved in favor of the public.

Radio Kiev's Oleksiy Hubenko comments [on] this event:

The announcement of the USSR Council of Ministers on lifting the limits on newspaper and magazine subscriptions trumpeted a victorious call in this reading nation. In the view of many, this is one of the major victories of the public at the grassroots level over the bureaucratic machine.

At first everything went smoothly and nothing seemed to foreshadow misfortune. [passage omitted]

Alas, August the 1st turned out to be the subscribers' doomsday. Like a bolt from the blue came the announcement of the USSR Ministry of Communications on setting the limits on many newspapers and magazines, especially on the feelers of public thought.

This slap in the face of glasnost was couched into what was presented as reasonable explanation: lack of paper. This was served as the main dish. More so, the deputy minister of communications even made a fist in glove attempt to sidekick the ecological movement, blaming the closedown of several oozing paper mills and the subsequent sublimits on this purifying activity. [as heard]

Lack of paper scheme was a lame duck; it was clear from the beginning. First, it sounds weird in a country with the largest forest reserves. Secondly, every citizen knows how much paper is gobbled up by the bureaucratic machine and how many unclaimed books gather dust on the shelves of bookstores. Finally, the laughable 120,000 tons of newsprint isn't something ostentatiously big that cannot be bought abroad, even with the rigid control of hard currency spending.

Why, then, the bureaucrats do it? Apparently, setting the limits is their favorite technique. It is much easier to set the limit on paper or sugar or anything else than to organize the economy properly. Apart from that, by setting the limits of bureaucrat assumes the positions of power as he then acts as the main distributor of the scarce commodity.

Well, in this case the public opinion showed its raising power, first by glasnost and greater social awareness. The limits have been lifted. Paper has been found somewhere. And freedom of choice has been restored.

And yet the trumpets of victory sound too early as long as there are lingering dangers of someone setting the limits.

Further on Lithuanian 'Sajudis' Congress

Vilnius Carries Live Relay

LD2810151488 [Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuania at 0700 GMT on 22 October carries a live relay from the constituent congress of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring [Sajudis] in the Vilnius sports palace.

The meeting opens with Janis Gaigals, representative of the Latvian Popular Front, taking the floor. Gaigals begins by saying that today members of the Latvian people's front are united with the Lithuanian people in their rejoicing. Gaigals goes on, saying: "Because the situation in Latvia is much more complicated, a polarization of various social forces is more predominant, and we are happy to have the support from our neighbors, Lithuania and Estonia. We believe that our problems, our main problems, are identical to yours. Therefore, the Latvian Popular Front proposes to convene a conference in the nearest possible future, of the Estonian Popular Front, the Latvian Popular Front, and the Lithuanian Sajudis. [applause]"

"I believe that every delegate here today has a special feeling of responsibility. Only a free man can have such a feeling. Only a free man with this kind of feeling in him can decide his own destiny. Only free people can create a free state where law and order prevail. Long Live Lithuania. God bless Latvia. Long live Estonia!" [applause]

The next to speak are Edgar Savisaar and Ruta Taruota, representatives of the Estonian Popular Front. They speak about the destinies of nations becoming linked together for the first time during the 1920's. They continue by saying that the time has now come when we have to begin to learn from history. They say that our task has to be a united front of the three Baltic republics and a united front of the three popular movements in these republics.

Savisaar notes that rumors are spreading in Tallinn as to whether Estonia is seeking a separate economic zone, which would mean turning away from the Riga Pact. Savisaar says: "We declare: There cannot be a sovereign Estonia if Lithuania, Latvia, and other republics are not sovereign. Our mission is not only to do everything in order to improve our lives. We must do everything in order to democratize all the union." [applause]

Savisaar and Taruota state: "We have a proposal to the Lithuanian Sajudis and to the Latvian Popular Front concerning demonstrations and meetings and the use of special military units (?to maintain order). Estonia is the only republic where these laws have not been adopted. We are sure that our delegates will vote against these laws at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. On Monday, actions to support groups of deputies who will speak against these laws will start in Estonia, and we are sure

that Lithuania and Latvia will join us in this action. We should coordinate our activities when issues concerning the USSR Constitution are being resolved, and other issues too. We have a common destiny; we have a common restructuring; we have a common future."

The next to speak is Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

The conference chairman then announces that working reports from the initiative groups of Sajudis will follow.

The first to speak Romualdas Ozolas [not further identified]. He says that it is absolutely clear that Lithuania now begins its latest history—the Lithuanian history after the liberation from Stalinist socialism. Ozolas says that the revival of Lithuania concerns not only our own destiny, not even only the destiny of our neighbours—Latvia, Estonia, Belorussia, and Russia. He says that this is the destiny of Europe, even the whole world. Ozolas says that the world is sick today, in particular this sixth part of the world which, armed with Marxism and the latest social theory designed by the greatest mind of Europe, made an attempt to set up an ideal life on this earth.

Ozolas says: "Revolution cannot be easy, even such a revolution as ours, which was started by Mikhail Gorbachev and by the CPSU Central Committee. It is a spiritual-intellectual revolution.

"What was the attitude of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Lithuanian Government to all this? Every single step, every decision adopted by the party was worthless. Therefore the penitence is heavy. Nevertheless, changes in the party are taking place. This is the only possibility for the party if it wants to feel less abandoned. Today we have more hopes for this than ever before."

Ozolas concludes: "There is no way back. There is a way in front of us and it leads us to self-reliance, and this road has no end."

The next speaker is Arvydas Juozaitis [not further identified]. Juozaitis speaks about Lithuanian history, saying that Sajudis has changed the political calendar considerably. He says we must go on, because all Lithuania demands that the dates of change must be given the meaning and significance which these dates have gained in the real history of our nation. Juozaitis goes on to speak about Lithuanian citizenship and stopping immigration.

The next speaker, Zigmas Vaysvila, speaks about ecological problems in Lithuania. Vaysvila says: "We must not look for a scapegoat in Moscow alone. Our local authorities, our government is also to blame."

Vaysvila talks about the Lithuanian Sajudis striving for a new environmental protection law in the Lithuanian SSR, which would be based on republican sovereignty, openness, and real criminal amenability according to international standards.

Referring to Sajudis' program, Vaysvila says: "The movement's program declares that Lithuania must become a part of the European nuclear-free zone. Therefore we must be told how many and what armed forces are located on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR. The more so because it is necessary to make clear what impact their activities have on the Lithuanian environment. I believe that the existing shroud protects the armed forces more against our people than against foreign enemies.

Vaysvila concludes by saying: "We all have to know by whose orders the expedition's information about the effects of the Chernobyl disaster in Lithuania was concealed from the public. What sort of cargo is being transported by the international ferry link?" "We want to go forward together with honest, competent, and decent leaders of Lithuanian," Vaysvila says.

Kazimiera Prunskiene [not further identified] speaks next. She speaks about problems related to the Lithuanian economy. Prunskiene says that among all aspirations voiced by the movement, the most important is economic self-reliance. She says that the essence of this has been widely discussed by the public and is supported by the republican government. Prunskiene says: "However, whether it becomes a reality or not also depends on the position of the union government bodies." "Overcoming economic stagnation in any union republic is a guarantee of the internal strength of the union and its prestige in the world. Therefore, it has a deep political meaning too, because the Leninist concept of the sovereignty and equality of rights of the Soviet socialist republic's voluntary union is being restored.

"Our opponents are searching meticulously for separatism and national egotism in our conception of economic self-dependence. They continue to defend the concepts of the all-union property of the whole people, and of a national economy as a single complex."

Prunskiene goes on in speaking to reject the seemingly and undoubtedly compromised concept of the economy as a single complex. She says: "We propose a common union market and equivalent exchange where, between real economic partners, there is no bureaucratic apparatus."

Prunskiene says that the settlement of accounts with the union by a republic must be transferred from primitive payments in kind to a higher financial form—for instance, payments to the union budget for the fulfillment of the all-union functions which the republic has been entrusted with.

Prunskiene adds: "We can discuss an element in the whole system of the state economy speaking solely in the language of economics, and only when the whole complex of concepts is taken into consideration. This whole complex is not an accidental collection but an integrated system.

"Therefore, we found the honorable president Vytautas Astrauskas' negative attitude toward the possibility of an independent republican monetary system, which he voiced at the October plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, incomprehensible.

"Unfortunately the positions of some local and Moscow opponents are similar."

Prunskiene concludes by saying: "To leave a gap for the redistribution of the results of our labor by means of a common monetary system is not only an economic and social mistake, it is also a political mistake."

Next to speak is Professor Landsbergis [not further identified]. He remarks on problems concerning Lithuanian culture, history, and morality, which has reached "unbelievably low levels." Asserting that Lithuanians once considered stealing one of the greatest sins, he says that stealing from the state is now being justified with two arguments: The state does not belong to the people, and one is only taking back what the state has robbed him of.

Virgilijus Cepaytis [not further identified] takes the floor next to discuss current nationality relations in Lithuania. He says: "Talking about nationality relations is like trying to scoop out the sea with a spoon. I will talk only about two aspects of this problem, which I believe are the most important in the current political situation.

"Recently, it was suddenly declared that nationality relations in the republic were being aggravated." Investigating who is responsible for such aggravation, Cepaytis says: "At the beginning of June, the Lithuanian Sajudis was born, and a month later all of Lithuania was flooded by a sea of yellow, green, and red [colors of the Lithuanian flag]. We Lithuanians greeted this as a miracle, as the rebirth of the nation.

"However, let's try to imagine how people of different nationalities felt in this suddenly changed situation—especially those who settled in Lithuania not so long ago. Indeed, these people might have thought that one fine day they might wake up to find themselves abroad, because they do not speak our language, they do not know our history, and they had been taught that the Soviet Union is just a peculiar synonym for Russia, where you can make do perfectly with just the Russian language, whether you are in Kirgiz, on the Yakutiya Tundra, or in Lithuania. [applause]

"What information was available to these citizens of our republic about the changed situation in Lithuania? Practically no information at all, except panic-striking rumors that Sajudis would make everybody speak Lithuanian beginning tomorrow, and that all the Russians would be sent back to Russia."

Cepaytis continues: "At the same time, articles appeared in the press accusing Sajudis of nationalism, and all over Lithuania the raykom instructors repeatedly told Russian and Polish collectives that there was nothing in the movement for them, since they were not Lithuanian."

Noting that he had been present at several such meetings, Cepaytis stresses that there were always a few people who did not want to understand Sajudis' aims—especially members of the party bureau, who maintain that the movement stinks of nationalism. Even so, he points out, the only proof of the allegation they ever offered was that a placard "written in a shaky hand" was raised during the first rally in Gediminas Square.

Now, Cepaytis says: "Mysterious hands are shoving into mailboxes leaflets printed at some publishing house threatening the Lithuanian nation. An appeal had to be made on television to calm the stirred up passions.

"I would like to ask who is personally responsible for Sajudis' not being able to use either the press or television during those arduous months and, therefore, not having the opportunity to make clear its nationality program to non-Lithuanians?" [applause]

Cepaytis further asks: "Who is responsible for the fact that CZERWONY STANDAR and SOVETSKAYA LITVA waged a campaign against the movement, spreading fear and mistrust among Russians and Poles?" [applause] "Who banned openness in Lithuania for 3 years, until Sajudis broke open the doors to openness?" he asks. [shouts of approval]

Cepaytis then states that over the last few decades most nationalities had developed an inferiority complex. We were a national minority in a huge Soviet Union, he says. All we could do was preserve our national inviolability deep in our hearts, and quite often the only way to express it was through hatred to other luckier nationalities. He continues: "Russians and Poles are national minorities in Lithuania. Our duty now is to not let our emotions prevail over reason." "All actions which incite nationalistic hatred must be persecuted," he declares.

"This is not the reason that we are becoming the masters of our country—so that we can make even a single citizen of Lithuania, regardless of his nationality, feel like a second-class citizen. It is enough that we Lithuanians had been regarded as guests in the wooden homes built by our ancestors, from which we could have been evicted at any time," he stressed.

The floor is then taken by Professor Bronius Genzelis, who is not further identified. His speech concerns mainly social and political issues. "In order to answer the questions of what we want and what we need," he says, "it is necessary to clarify the situation we are in now and how we got here." We live in a country which has lived through Stalinism and stagnation, he continues. The hopes of the October revolution became declarations on paper only; demagogery about workers' power does not satisfy anyone any more, Genzelis goes on, because the workers continue to live in poverty, their rights are not defended by anyone, and the trade unions have become an arm of the managerial apparatus. The position of the intelligentsia is no less difficult, he says, while at the same time the bureaucracy—the new class, as I call them—is flourishing.

Genzelis then goes on to talk about the shortages of food, consumer goods of all kinds, accommodation—especially for young couples—poor health care, and insufficient places in kindergartens and schools.

Turning to moral questions, Genzelis declares: "There are more orphans today than during the immediate postwar period. Is low morality alone to blame? If so, then why has it fallen so low? Have we tried to find out what conditions young mothers live in?"

"We have grown up in a lawless society, where spirituality is in decline, where people have become estranged from one another," Genzelis claims. "Where there is no democracy, the law of negative selection of personnel comes into force. The bosses choose deputies who are obedient, weak-willed, and without initiative, in order not to create opposition to themselves. When the boss was promoted or when he went to meet his Maker—since no one vacated his post voluntarily—the position would be automatically filled by his deputy. And that is how our officialdom has become stultified. [applause] People knew that their positions depended entirely on those in authority above them, and therefore qualifications and the quality of work done have become irrelevant."

Turning to the question of restructuring, Genzelis lists the following requirements: We must, he says, "halt the construction of new enterprises by the union departments and, in general, we must not build installations which Lithuania does not need, and which require the import of specialists from outside the republic; we must see that the managerial apparatus is reduced in real terms; we must abolish all privileges, without exception."

"Lithuania needs qualified specialists," he continues. "The present educational system is incapable of preparing them. The first condition for changing this situation is the autonomy of higher educational establishments." [applause]

Genzelis goes on to say that "the people's destiny depends significantly on the country's authorities. Therefore, the authorities must be competent; they must

be staffed by people who are able to represent and defend the people's interests. So far, the republic's government has failed to represent our nation adequately, and the same is true of the party leadership. [stormy applause] The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee was not elected: It was appointed. Therefore, it is necessary to convene an extraordinary congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party where a clear attitude to restructuring can be formulated and a new Central Committee can be elected. [prolonged applause] At the same time, I believe that the Lithuanian Government should be reorganized. The slogan 'all power to the soviets' is meaningless as long as these organs remain bureaucratic offices."

"I would like to congratulate the new first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Comrade Brazauskas, and express my hope that he will rally the nation around him," Genzelis concludes.

Academician Antanas Buracas is invited to take the floor. He praises Algirdas Brazauskas, the new first secretary, who has already demonstrated his resolution to radically solve the pressing problems facing us. He wished him success in restructuring the entire managerial apparatus in the republic.

"Bitter experience gained in our history indicates, however, that so far the leaders in the present supreme soviet have failed to defend firmly the rights of citizens of Lithuania. They did not defend their right to return to the homeland from exile; they did not defend their right to remain a full person in the Soviet Armed Forces; they did not defend their right to freedom of speech. [applause] At best, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has only reluctantly looked into the principal demands to restore a sense of nationality, democracy, and spirituality to our people.

"Therefore, we do not cherish any illusions that such a presidium and its committee of legislation will adopt the kind of constitution which a Lithuania restored to life wants to have. [applause]

"The national referendum is a firm guarantee of legal grounds for sovereignty. It will express the interests of the Lithuanian people and serve as a means of adopting a republican constitution where the issue of sovereignty is not wrapped up in a candy paper. [applause]

"Republican sovereignty guarantees a strengthening of cultural, scientific and technological, and economic sovereignty." Buracas adds that "these and other ideas of social justice have no access to the republican mass media."

"We need freedom to demonstrate. The security organs must be accountable to the people's soviets. [applause] We must win back the right to establish constitutional courts of law which will protect people's rights and

sovereignty, which will ensure the right of direct elections of all deputies, procurators, and judges, and which will abolish persecutions over one's political convictions. [applause]

"As long as there are no constitutional courts of law the League for the Liberation of Lithuania will remain outside the law and will not be able to defend those rights which are being demanded in compliance with the currently valid constitution of the Lithuanian SSR. [applause]"

Following the conclusion of Buracas' speech a 15-minute break is announced.

At 0935 GMT the radio resumes its relay from the Lithuanian congress. The first to speak is Vytautas Petkevicius, writer and historian. Petkevicius concentrates mainly on the issue of the Lithuanian language as a state language and the problems caused by this demand. Petkevicius goes on to say: "The Lithuanian nation must live, flourish, and be free, not in some purchased remote corner of Brazil, not in the Garden of Eden, not in Siberia, but here, in the land of our fathers and forefathers. We were given this right by birth; this right is guaranteed to us by the Declaration of Human Rights; it is granted to us even by our confused, distorted, and rather trimmed constitution which is in force in this republic today."

Petkevicius adds: "And yet we cannot fully understand how, and by what ways and means, our multinational country was seized by a raving madness, which today is famous for its mass murders and is referred to without any fear—and quite rightly so, too—as fascism painted red."

He proceeds to describe various opinions concerning the roots of Stalinism, saying that some people even thought it was God's punishment. He adds:

"However, to me, as a historian and a writer, this phenomenon appears simple and even natural.

"As far back as 1917, Plekhanov appealed to Vladimir Lenin, who had locked himself away in the Smolnyy Institute, warning him that it was too early to start and carry out a socialist revolution in Russia. He warned the leader of the revolution: If you do not stew the Russian peasant in the cauldron of bourgeois democracy, you will create a dictatorship more appalling than any Tsarism, shed rivers of blood in vain, and make mankind doubt the idea of communism."

"As you can see, these prophetic words almost came true. From a feudal empire, the prison of nations, through experimenting irresponsibly, we did not head for socialism but for a paranoid dictatorship which lost its human face, and which was organized by Stalin and his toadies." He goes on to ask Lithuanians to be tolerant and understanding toward other nationalities.

Petkevicius then says: "During these 5 months of our activities we have noticed a strange regularity. All national minorities living in our republic agree, without great reservation, on all the points in our program. However, the moment we begin to speak of the Lithuanian language having to become the state language in our republic all sorts of accusations are immediately flung at us—nationalism, separatism, facism, and other curses—as if the Russian language were the only tool for internationalist communication." He adds:

"I want to declare that we resolutely reject all these curses as an insult to our nation. We are not nationalists, we have never been nationalists and never will be. However, comrade chauvinists and national minorities who live on our land, you too must take no lesser internationalist responsibility, which today is indispensable to all of us.

"It was not we who deported Russians to Siberia and to the Laptev Sea; it was not we who colonized Lithuanians in the Vilnius region and thrust the nickname of the locals on them; it was not we who destroyed churches and closed down schools in Lithuanian villages situated in Belorussia.

"Consequently, while demanding accord and restraint from our fellow Lithuanians, we have every right to demand the same restraint from our brother Russians, most of whom arrived here as active executioners of Stalin's policies." The audience responds with prolonged applause.

Petkevicius adds: "We must demand the same from our brother Poles who are still unwilling to forget the slogan put forward by their little Stalin, Marshal Pilsudski, 'Poland from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea.'"

"Don't the Russian people need a new spiritual and cultural revival? Are they going to rush about all their lives around the edges of our huge country liberating other people, but never wanting to liberate themselves from Stalinism, which still has them firmly in its grip?"

Petkevicius concludes his speech by calling for mutual understanding, tolerance, and cooperation in solving the tasks of restructuring.

'Victory for the Church'

PM2810120188 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER
in Swedish 24 Oct 88 p 10

[Harald Hamrin dispatch: "Victory for the Church"]

[Text] Vilnius—The Lithuanian Sajudis reform movement ended its inaugural congress yesterday evening by adopting a far-reaching program of political reforms.

Before doing so it had openly challenged the Communist Party and the Lithuanian state leadership no less than three times—and won one full victory and two half-victories.

The congress won its most symbolically dramatic victory Saturday evening [22 October], immediately before dispersing to take part in the evening's great mass meeting in central Vilnius. The meeting, reported in some of yesterday's editions of DAGENS NYHETER, gathered at least 250,000 people and perhaps even more in the biggest demonstration of newly awakened national self-confidence in the history of the Soviet republic of Lithuania.

It was Catholic priest Father Voslovas Aliulis who in his address to the congress on Saturday afternoon laid the foundation for the victory. According to an earlier government decision, the Catholic Church would in future be able to use the old cathedral, which has been transformed into an art gallery, for services on Sunday mornings. Aliulis said that the decision was unacceptable. He threatened that the service planned for yesterday morning in the cathedral would be canceled if the government did not hand over the cathedral to the church for permanent use. The call was received with thunderous applause by the over 1,100 congress delegates.

Literally within 15 minutes a reply came from the Soviet Republic of Lithuania's Council of Ministers, or government, and the decision was completely in accord with Father Aliulis' demand. From yesterday morning the cathedral was back in the hands of its original owner.

And at 0700 hours yesterday morning, while darkness still shrouded Vilnius, around 30,000 of the faithful gathered to celebrate the first Catholic mass there for several decades. A temporary altar had been built under the colonnade in front of the cathedral doors and the officiating priest was none other than the head of the Lithuanian church, Cardinal Sladkevicius.

As if this were not enough, Lithuanian television broadcast the whole of the service live—the first time a Catholic mass has ever been televised in the Soviet Union.

Later yesterday the congress continued with its challenges by voicing to great applause its lack of confidence in Lithuania's "president," Vitautas Astrauskas. No one is in any doubt that Astrauskas will shortly be forced to resign.

The first secretary of one of the Communist Party's powerful raykoms also felt the congress' dissatisfaction a little later. As an invited guest he had expressed from the rostrum his support for Sajudis and its reform program. But two angry delegates immediately stormed the podium and testified how the party secretary, contrary to his assurances, had in fact worked against the local Sajudis committees in his rayon. These testimonies

resulted in noisy heckling from the delegates, and the party secretary was forced to hastily leave the rostrum—seemingly with his political future behind him.

Among yesterday's emotional highpoints were the whistles and boos and the icy silence which met the revelation, in a speech by congress delegate Gediminas Karalius, that the Communist Party Central Committee has proposed the erection of new statues, in addition to those already in existence, of the first head of the Soviet secret police, Feliks Dzherzinskiy, and of Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state. On the other hand, Karalius' proposal that monuments should instead be erected to honor a number of Lithuanian patriots was greeted with cheers and applause.

Before the congress dispersed yesterday evening it also elected a "Sejm" or governing body of 210 members and a 35-member working committee.

The political program which the congress adopted at the same time is reminiscent in all important respects of the programs put forward at the congresses of the popular front movements in Estonia and Latvia earlier this month.

The aims of Sajudis' political activity are given as the Lithuanian "people's moral and national rebirth," the restoration of Lithuania's "political, economic, and cultural sovereignty" within the framework of a "law-based state" in which the "will of the people" is given free expression at all levels.

It is true that the program speaks in favor of "an open dialogue" with Lithuania's established leadership, but it notes at the same time that "no political organization can have the right to usurp political power" in the republic. The congress supports the original revolutionary cry, "All power to the soviets" (and thus not to the party) and states that Sajudis will participate in future soviet elections with its own candidates and will "check election procedures"—with the implied aim of preventing manipulation of voting figures.

The program also states that Lithuanian must become the republic's state language and that separate Lithuanian citizenship must be introduced. Lithuania must have the right to set up its own consulates and diplomatic representation abroad and request readmission to the International Olympic Committee.

In the economic field the program speaks of far-reaching economic independence and the introduction of a separate Lithuanian currency.

The program demands that Lithuanian men only be required to carry out their military service within the borders of the republic and that special Lithuanian military units be established. Lithuania should also be included in a Nordic nuclear-free zone.

The program opposes the "unrestricted immigration" of other national groups, voices its support for the Catholic Church, and speaks out in favor of far-reaching measures with the aim of strengthening the position of Lithuanian culture.

Finally, the program also expressly demands that "Stalinism's crimes against Lithuania and its people be described as crimes against humanity."

'Wave of Reforms' Reported

PM2710143188 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER
in Swedish 22 Oct 88 p 10

[Harald Hamrin dispatch: "Wave of Reforms in Lithuania"]

[Text] Vilnius—A Catholic cardinal returned home to his faithful after 27 years, a new Communist Party chief appeared in public, and the profoundly symbolic Church of St Kazimirs was returned to its congregation—Friday [21 October] was a day unlike most in the history of Vilnius in the last 50 years.

The Baltic wave of reforms which was born in Estonia and then swept through Latvia, reached Lithuania, the last of the three Baltic Soviet republics, on Friday. Everything seemed to be happening at once, as if in a single, powerful, liberating movement.

The Catholic priest in his black coat and white collar sat on the train from Moscow surrounded by a few younger priests. They talked calmly, as if they were on their way home from a routine trip to do with some piece of church business.

But on the platform in Vilnius a crowd of people were waiting with flowers and pictures of saints. When the white-haired old man stepped from the sleeping car, the faithful struck up a song and another and then another. They wept and kissed the old priest.

In response to a question someone said that his name was Yulionas Stepanovichus. And suddenly everything became clear. For 27 years, since 1961, he has lived in exile in a small Lithuanian village, cut off from all contact with his congregation. The bishopric of Vilnius has remained unoccupied for the same length of time, awaiting its rightful incumbent.

Some 3 weeks ago Yulionas Stepanovichus was suddenly allowed to travel to Rome by the authorities. There he was received by the pope, held talks in the Vatican and was now returning—for the first time since being forced out of Vilnius 50 years ago—to his old hometown.

There are persistent reports that Yulionas Stepanovichus, now 77, is one of the cardinals whose names the pope has kept "in pectore," in his heart. The pope has this exclusive right to appoint his cardinals, the Catholic Church's highest-ranking "princes," and keep their

names to himself if he thinks that making these names public could make the bearer's already difficult position worse. This was the case with Bishop Yulionas Stepanovicius, who, it is generally asserted, was made a cardinal "in the pope's heart" in 1979.

This Friday he returned home for the first time in 27 years, an old man with white hair but with a straight back. And the faithful wept and sang.

On the bus in to the hotel I read in the local newspaper that the previous day the Lithuanian Government reached a decision for which all of Lithuania's Catholics have been waiting for decades. The Museum of Religion and Atheism is to be given new premises. Its present building will again become what it was for centuries—the Church of St Kazimirs, Lithuania's most venerated saint.

And a couple of hours later the new party chief in the Soviet Republic of Lithuania held his first news conference.

His name is Algirdas Brazauskas; he is considered a reformist politician, and he had been in office for 12 hours, if that.

"There were stormy discussions," Brazauskas said of the Central Committee meeting which began at 5:15 on Thursday afternoon and lasted until late in the evening.

For his own part the day had begun early in Moscow. First a meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, then further meetings with the top party leadership in the Soviet capital.

"Such is our tradition," he said at the news conference. "Before taking office as first secretary in one of the federal republics, one introduces oneself in Moscow, as it were."

Things have happened quickly in Vilnius. As recently as 2 weeks ago the Central Committee held a meeting under the leadership of the then party head, Ringaudas Songayla. At the meeting Bronius Genzelis—a well-known professor and philosopher and also one of those taking the initiative for Lithuania's reform movement—stood up and said right out that Songayla did not enjoy the confidence of those in favor of reform.

"I was speaking not only for myself," Genzelis said at a separate news conference Friday. "I was speaking for the whole of 'Sajudis'—the reform movement. I said that he should resign and that this was the view of the whole nation."

Early in the day new party chief Brazauskas for his part had said that the top leadership of the Lithuanian Communist Party had also reached this conclusion. The party had in practice lost control of the situation.

"Sajudis"—the movement in support of restructuring—had put forward a number of reform proposals, but Songayla had not heeded the signals.

"In the course of the last 2 weeks the Politburo has held a number of meetings and reached the conclusion that the first secretary was not equal to the situation," Brazauskas said. "The best solution was that he be allowed to resign."

Seldom has a Communist Party chief's departure been commented on so candidly by his direct successor.

At Thursday evening's dramatic meeting of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, there was also, Brazauskas said, a heated discussion about Second Secretary Nikolay Mitkin's position. Mitkin is not just a Russian. Like all the second secretaries in the 14 non-Russian federal republics he was also appointed by Moscow. He is Moscow's "eyes" and "ears" in Vilnius and had, when he came here 2 years ago, no previous contacts with the Soviet republic whose formal number two he is today.

"We had a stormy discussion about this yesterday," Brazauskas admitted in response to a question from DAGENS NYHETER. "Many members of the Central Committee voiced the view that Mitkin's political line does not square with the demands of the age. And many also said that the system (of a second secretary appointed from outside) is perhaps not appropriate."

Brazauskas also said that Mitkin's political future will be raised at the next Central Committee meeting and hinted that Lithuania could be the first Soviet republic to rebel against this system forced on it by Moscow.

In this unsettled political atmosphere "Sajudis" will gather Saturday and Sunday [22 and 23 October] for its founding congress in Vilnius, in the same way that the popular fronts in Estonia and Latvia have met on two previous weekends this month.

Emotions Surround Status of Estonian Language *LD2410184188 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT* 24 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS—TASS news analyst Boris Prokhorov writes:

The attention of the public has been drawn more often of late to stormy emotions in the Baltic Republic of Estonia concerning the intentions of the local authorities to recognize the Estonian language as the official language of the republic. Some are inclined to view this almost as a sensation. Putting emotions aside, let us recall what the official language means. Most specialists agree that the official language is the language of legislation, office work and juridical proceedings.

The question of official language is decided in different ways in different countries. Bilingualism is characteristic of all the national republics in the USSR. The Ukrainian and the Russian languages are in common use in the Ukraine, Uzbek and Russian in Uzbekistan, Moldavian and Russian in Moldavia. Alongside the national language of a republic which, certainly, plays the main role on its territory, Russian language is also used as the language of interethnic communication within the limits of the Soviet Union. If we had no language common to all the peoples, the multiethnic Soviet society would have faced the lot of the builders of the Tower of Babel who suffered a fiasco for the reason that they lost the common language and ceased to understand each other.

The USSR Constitution has no provision for the official language. But the fundamental laws of some Soviet republics, though far from all, recognize the language of the native population as the official language.

Say, in Armenia, the Armenian language was proclaimed the official language, but it is also noted that laws and other important acts of the republic are issued in Armenian, Russian and Azerbaijani, and that free use of other languages spoken by Armenia's population is ensured on the republic's territory won a basis of equality.

Similar provisions are recorded in the Constitutions of [words indistinct].

The fact that no mention of the official language is made in the Constitutions of Estonia, Latvia or Kirghizia should perhaps be regarded as an oversight of those who compiled these documents. Or, maybe, this is the consequence of the fact that this matter had not been earlier given such an importance as now. In any case, if the Estonian language becomes the official language, it will assume the same status that the Georgian or Armenian languages have had over many years.

As to passions around the question of language, they are explained much rather by the fact that certain persons try to take advantage of it for aggravating interethnic relations.

And if, casting aside the underlying political reasons [words indistinct] should address properly linguistic problem, it does not present itself as insoluble, though it needs refining. The law on compulsory bilingual tuition in schools was, for instance, adopted in Kirghizia a year ago, while formerly, children in Kirghizia studied either Kirghiz or Russian, on the basis of the parental choice.

Estonia Requests Airfield Closure; Noise Cited
PM2710122888 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 41, 9 Oct 88 p 14

[Grant Gukasov report: "From Letters About Noise Pollution"]

[Text] Dawn and dusk in the N-settlement of N-district in Estonia have no connection with sunrise and sunset. Residents work and sleep according to the schedule of

the military airfield nearby. The children know that the fire-spitting dragon which sounds as if it were exploding the whole area with its insatiable roar lives just beyond the sparse woodland. When it becomes particularly ferocious, its luminous head flies into the sky.... Estonia's Supreme Soviet received the following letter last May:

"We are very concerned about the activity at the military airfield located in the centre of our resort district, which is ruining our health. According to Estonia's Ministry of Public Health, the noise over N-settlement day and night is now 107 decibels, considerably higher than the permissible limits. Because of the noise, people are consulting doctors more often and the sick rate among children has quadrupled. We ask you to take measures.

Yelena Talts, Roman Putsepp, deputies to the Soviet of People's Deputies of N-settlement; T. Laansoo, deputy to the N-district Soviet."

V. Vaht, secretary of the Presidium of Estonia's Supreme Soviet, forwarded this letter to Estonia's Council of Ministers. From there it was sent to Defence Minister D. Yazov in Moscow with the following cover note:

"Dear Dmitriy Timofeyevich, we have received numerous, well-founded appeals recently from residents of N-district, about the activity of the military airfield near N-settlement.

Measures taken by the command to reduce the noise have not substantially improved this situation. Given that the airfield is located practically within the limits of N-settlement and close to N-resort, Estonia's Council of Ministers requests that you investigate the possibility of closing or moving the airfield in N-district.

Respectfully yours, Bruno Saul, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Estonian SSR."

This is not Estonia's first appeal to the Defence Ministry recently. A similar problem arose with the barrier preventing foreigners from driving into the ancient university town of Tartu, and with the Tallinn City Soviet's resolution limiting residence in the Estonian capital for retired officers and re-enlisted men. Military departments rejected most of the applications on these points. But times are changing fast. Witness the answer to Saul's letter from Moscow:

"To the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Estonian Republic.

Dear Bruno Eduardovich!

The question of closing the airfield may be settled positively on condition that Estonia provides manpower and funds for the construction of a new military airfield with all necessary structures and housing. The construction site must be chosen in coordination with the USSR Ministry of Defence.

Respectfully, D. Yazov."

Without noticing it we have come to regard the Defence Ministry as an institution that is unfeeling and indifferent to everything except military matters. It seems this must change. The above correspondence suggests that the men there are beginning to consider people's concerns and anxieties and respond to their wishes.

There is only one embarrassing point: All the expenses for the "transfer" of the airfield must be shouldered by Estonia. This seems fair since Estonia will receive from the military department a whole settlement with modern amenities even if it has many "superfluous" structures not fit for civil life. After all, at one time the Defence Ministry received more than 1,000 hectares from Estonia free of charge. Perhaps it would be worth changing the usual practice this time? In other words, solve the problem of moving the airfield on a sharing basis? In fact, the land could turn a profit if it is used for economic purposes.

Optional Bible Study Classes for Riga Students
LD2810205488 Moscow TASS in English 1901 GMT
28 Oct 88

[Text] Riga October 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Galine Grishina:

The Bible has become one of the subjects studied by pupils in several secondary schools in the Latvian capital. Viestur Pirro, pastor of St. Gertrude's Church in Riga introduces the ninth-formers to the history of religion.

"This dialogue has become possible only thanks to the new relations between the state and the church that had emerged in the period of perestroika", says Gunvalds Zlamets, head-master of the school launching that experiment. "I am a convinced atheist myself, but I believe that the Bible, that monument of human thought, must be studied."

"It contains the roots of culture, ethics and morality. Several generations have grown up remaining unaware of the fact that biblical stories had inspired prominent artists, writers and poets to create some of the greatest works of art and literature. The study of the Bible is also a way toward the study of man and his spiritual quests.

Attendance of the classes is optional. But before inviting the pastor-teacher to his school, the head-master obtained the agreement of his students and their parents. The point is that in the Soviet Union the school is a public institution while the church remains separated from the state and such classes cannot be compulsory for all.

Leningrad Police Raid Dissidents' Homes
AU2810182888 Paris AFP in English 1819 GMT
28 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct 28 (AFP)—Police in Leningrad have raided the homes of three dissidents in the first crack-down there for more than two years, a spokesman for the Democratic Union here said Friday.

Uniformed and plain-clothes policemen on Thursday seized a large number of documents from the apartments of three Democratic Union members, one of whom had published a poem called "Lenin's Rape of Russia" in the group's newsletter, the spokesman said.

The local prosecutor's office had lodged charges of "pornography" and "contempt for society" against the group, he added. The newsletter has about 80 readers.

The apartments of the poet, the newsletter's editor and the group's legal expert were raided, the spokesman said.

The authorities also warned the organisers of weekly public meetings in a Leningrad that the meetings must stop next week, he said.

Officials Expelled for Creating Food Shortage
LD3010122988 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 30 Oct 88

[Text] Managers of three big food stores have been expelled from trade unions following inspections of Moscow's trade network by public controllers. They were charged with breaching the rules of trade, including a deliberately created shortage of some foodstuffs.

A number of managers in Donetsk, Kirov, Chardzhou, and other cities have been disciplined for similar reasons. Public inspectors have been working in close touch with trade unions and the Interior Ministry.

Supreme Court Chairman on Legal Restructuring
LD2810105388 Moscow TASS in English 1009 GMT
28 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—"It is necessary to improve radically the present state and political systems for creating prerequisites to build a truly law-governed state, said Vladimir Terebilov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, in an interview with the weekly NOVOYE VREMYA (English edition NEW TIMES).

He deems it necessary to supplement the operating Constitution and, among other things, to spell out more clearly the division of functions among the soviets of people's deputies, the party and the government. It is necessary to carry out a sweeping restructuring of legal foundations of the structure and methods of economic management. Operating legislation should be revamped to define more clearly rights and duties of citizens with

respect to the state and other citizens, as well as rights and duties of the state with respect to citizens. A judicial and legal reform should be also carried out.

The head of the USSR Supreme Court deems it necessary to adopt a law on responsibility for disrespect for the court of law and attempts to put pressure on it, to spell out in unequivocal terms that accountability of courts to the soviets of people's deputies should not influence in any ways judgements of criminal and civil cases in court.

Touching on the question, now under consideration at the CPSU Central Committee, on forms of work of party organs, he suggests that an emphasis should be put on the fact that they should exercise their influence on the work of courts not through their apparatus but above all through those party members who are elected and work at courts. Incidentally, party influence can only mean a desire to ensue strict observance of laws.

The chairman of the USSR Supreme Court deems it necessary to hand over in the near future the investigative service completely from procurator's organs to other organs or to set up an independent investigate arm so that the procurator should exercise a truly strict supervision over legality of the investigating officer's actions and should not be the head of this apparatus.

Asked about his attitude to capital punishment, he said the following: "I believe that even now we can stop execution of women, do not pass death sentences for economic crimes. But capital punishment, no matter how objectionable it may seem, should be preserved for some time for some serious crimes connected with murders."

Asked whether direct executors of Stalin's reprisals should be sued, Terebilov replied:

"If such people are alive, now they are beyond 80, as a rule. Limitation periods passed for many of them, and evidence of their criminal activities is lost to a considerable extent. But in case such people are identified, it is possible and necessary, evidently, to resolve the question on investigation into their past activities."

"One should not think," he noted, "that people directly involved in falsifying criminal cases in the past, remained unpunished. Many of them who had worked in NKVD organs, were convicted and sentenced to capital punishment.

Moscow Militia Chief Bogdanov Interviewed
PM2610120588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 22 Oct 88 p 8

[Feature carried under the rubric "Restructuring as Reflected in Situations and People" comprising interview with P.S. Bogdanov, chief of the Moscow Gori-polkom Main Administration for Internal Affairs, by A. Andrusenko, followed by "Editorial Office Commentary": "Moscow Today. The View from 38 Petrovka Street"—place and date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] Perhaps nothing today is being discussed with keener interest and greater urgency than citizens' rights and freedoms in our society. Over the last 2-3 years we have encountered many previously unknown phenomena. Democratization and glasnost have awakened people. Social awareness has been clearly politicized. The crowds of people around newspaper display stands are evidence of the exercise of people's right to full and frank information. But processes of self-organized exchanges of information are also under way. Newspapers report rallies and demonstrations being held with increasing frequency. At the same time, the editorial office has started receiving complaints: "On an ordinary day it is at times hard to get to Pushkin Square; militiamen guarding its approaches are polite but silent. What is happening?" People mention the new names of numerous informal associations. Workers, students, and the engineering, technical, and creative intelligentsia are also making their own assessments of events.

And so, what is actually happening in Moscow today, what are the role and position of law enforcement organs? This is the topic of our correspondent's conversation with P.S. Bogdanov, chief of the Moscow Gori-polkom Main Administration for Internal Affairs.

[Andrusenko] Petr Stepanovich, it is no secret that the militia has to work in new conditions today. Is it ready for this work? What situations do your staffers encounter in the city streets?

[Bogdanov] In our view, the processes aimed at democratization and glasnost now under way in the country are a perfectly law-governed phenomenon which should have occurred a long time ago. Moreover, I would say that we staffers of internal affairs organs have been affected by the changes in society as much as, if not more than, any citizen in the country. It is no secret that taboo subjects and zones closed to criticism existed in the militia's activity for years and years. All this had a very distorting effect on MVD organs' activity.

Speaking of our staffers' work under the new conditions, it must be bluntly said that some of our comrades failed to promptly perceive the onset of this process. Consequently, if you were to recall the first few months of last year, disruptions occurred in our work with people and individual groups of citizens. At the same time, however,

we were learning just like everybody else. I, personally, am profoundly convinced that we have no reason to fear democratization and glasnost. But I would like to make one proviso at this point. Many of our citizens take democracy to mean total license and anarchy. Here are a few examples. So-called "informal" citizens' organizations are now active in Moscow. They all differ from one another to varying degrees. There are groups putting forward perfectly reasonable suggestions and demanding solutions to really pressing problems. They are raising a number of ecological and urban development questions, collecting funds for a memorial to the victims of Stalin's repressions, and so on. But there are also groups with extremist leanings. Like, for example, the so-called "Democratic Union," whose members voice opinions on almost all questions ranging from the economy to politics. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of their slogans run counter to our socialist system. Moreover, a sizeable proportion of people belonging to this grouping do not work anywhere. They are parasites. They produce nothing, and yet hold themselves out to be worried about the people's fate.

[Andrusenko] And what are the "Democratic Union's" specific demands, what actions do they take?

[Bogdanov] They deny the gains of the socialist system in our country, advocate the repeal of the Constitution or demand the deletion of its articles about the party's leading role, agitate against young people serving in the Armed Forces, and so on. Moreover, the actions of members of the "Democratic Union" grouping are aimed at discrediting or distorting the essence and functions of individual components of the state and social system. Last January V. Novodvorskaya (one of the "Democratic Union's" founder members) declared that they had set themselves the goal of establishing in the USSR a party in opposition to the existing political system. Individual "Democratic Union" members bluntly declare that they will use extremist methods of struggle. At the latest gathering of the "Union," which was chaired by Ye. Debryanskaya, V. Novodvorskaya arrogantly declared that a real political force has supposedly been created in the country, a force which proclaims that the advantages of the socialist system are illusory, and which is West-oriented in terms of a whole series of indicators. It must be said that Debryanskaya herself does not work anywhere, does not look after her children's upbringing, has been taken to police stations in a state of alcoholic intoxication, has had administrative proceedings instituted against her on nine occasions, and has been fined on seven occasions. And yet she is now "concerned about the interests" of our whole people!

And now about matters which alarm us. "Democratic Union" representatives totally ignore the established rules governing the procedure for holding rallies. In most cases their unauthorized actions have been accompanied by slogans and posters of a slanderous nature and the distribution of leaflets with antisocialist content.

On 21 August a provocation by extremists from this organization resulted in the events in the Tverskiy Boulevard Park, which were already reported by the press. Members of the "Democratic Union" and other groupings gathered there on that day for the purpose of holding a rally timed to coincide with the 20th anniversary of the entry of troops from the four Warsaw Pact countries into Czechoslovakia. Despite the Moscow City Soviet's justified ban on this rally, explanations by representatives of the Main Administration for Internal Affairs of the provisions of the 28 July 1988 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On Procedures for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations in the USSR," and warnings about the need to terminate the unauthorized event, those assembled refused to leave the place of their gathering. Leaders of the "Democratic Union" attempted to open the rally. They actually behaved extremely aggressively, provoked the militia, engaged in hooligan actions, shouted anti-Soviet slogans, tried to distribute slanderous leaflets, and urged the assembled citizens to resist the representatives of authority. Some 96 persons were detained for failing to comply with militia staffers' legitimate demands and for breaches of public order, and administrative proceedings were instituted against 90 of them. Some 28 militia staffers and 1 voluntary detachment member were injured in trying to terminate the unlawful gathering.

[Andrusenko] There are rumors that some of the detainees were also injured as a result?

[Bogdanov] I can say that none of the detainees who took part in the rally were injured. The spreading of such rumors is just another attempt to denigrate staffers of internal affairs organs and whip up unhealthy sentiments.

[Andrusenko] We have learned that a meeting of independently run organizations from Moscow held last June adopted a decision to set up a people's front in support of restructuring.

[Bogdanov] All this can only be welcomed. Unfortunately, the objectives proclaimed in this case do not always correspond with the actions. We are alarmed by the fact that, as a result of their activity, even they backslide into positions which cannot be deemed acceptable. The people's front is displaying growing solidarity with the "Democratic Union" in all its antisocial aspirations and actions.

[Andrusenko] What specific form does this take?

[Bogdanov] Here is a fresh example. A total of about 50 members of the "Democratic Union," the "Obshchina," and the "Popular Front" assembled by the fountain on Tverskiy Boulevard at 1800 hours on 5 September to hold an unauthorized rally. They tried to distribute anti-Soviet leaflets entitled "70 Years Since the Start of Red Terror." Their "authors" had descended to slanderous accusations that "mass repressions against the

people" were organized by...V.I. Lenin! The expropriation of bourgeois property in 1917 was described as plunder. And much more along similar lines. None of this is anything new, and it is being sung by a familiar "voice." Those assembled did not respond to repeated warnings by militia staffers about the impermissibility of breaches of the 28 July 1988 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree, and tried by all means to draw the attention of passers-by, some 250 of whom had gathered. A group of seven extremists moved on to Suvorovskiy Boulevard and unfurled posters carrying demagogic messages. They had all gagged themselves with pieces of black cloth, some with "Glasnost" written on them. Measures were taken to prevent the holding of the unlawful rally and 49 people were detained for breaches of public order. The "Democratic Union" "leaders" have recently been making more and more attempts to earn dividends from foreign correspondents through noisy rallies.

Rallies and demonstrations were also held on repeated occasions by some Armenians living in Moscow, in connection with events in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and in Sumgait. Starting in March, they organized rallies in the Armenian section of Vagankovskoye Cemetery every Sunday. Their actions became increasingly shrill in form and the number of provocative posters grew on each successive occasion. Armenians held unauthorized marches in the streets of Moscow and several rallies were held in the city's central squares. We are constantly forced to divert sizeable personnel detachments in order to maintain the necessary public order and prevent these rallies from evolving into events whose consequences would be hard to predict.

Whenever we are asked—But what is the militia's stance toward mutual relations with these persons and groups?—I can firmly declare that we are an organization defending the rights of all Soviet people. We are guardians of order.

Unfortunately, we have perfectly justified fears that unauthorized gatherings can be exploited by criminals and instigators to create mass disturbances. We proceed from the interests of citizens and safeguard their security. In this we act in strict conformity with the laws.

Attempts are made to accuse us of breaching democracy. Every civilized state has services whose purpose it is to ensure order, and which are vested with the necessary powers. In this context, our law enforcement organs are under the people's strict monitoring when it comes to the observance of socialist legality. Especially nowadays! Explanations are now available on how to apply properly for permission to hold rallies and demonstrations and, if permission is granted, we are always ready to help the organizers of any event to ensure that everything is held properly. Whenever there is no permission, we are forced to take the appropriate measures. I can declare with the utmost frankness that we do not violate either the Constitution or the decree.

[Andrusenko] Following publication of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On the Duties and Rights of USSR MVD Internal Troops in the Maintenance of Public Order" the editorial office has been receiving questions as to whether the inviolability of the home, which is guaranteed by the Constitution, is not in some way suspended? So far there has been no sensible explanation in the press.

[Bogdanov] I think that these citizens have not interpreted the decree quite correctly. After all, it does not say that internal troops servicemen have the right to enter any home at any time of the day or night. The situation is completely different. MVD staffers can enter homes only on the basis of a legitimate reason, and individuals committing unlawful actions are held most strictly liable, including even criminal liability. Our staffers are perfectly well aware that any unjustified entry into a Soviet citizen's home can result in a most serious inquiry, including even a service investigation.

[Andrusenko] But even so, jurists say that the decree has been inadequately worked out.

[Bogdanov] We proceed from the premise that we must maintain order in the city. And I can say frankly that, from the viewpoint of unlawful phenomena, the situation in Moscow is tense. I believe that the decree was really published at the right time and that it is necessary. Yes, maybe some points could be argued and some points could be improved from the viewpoint of legal scientists. I think that this will happen in the long run. It was said at the very beginning that we are learning democracy.

[Andrusenko] But there was no preliminary discussion of the decree?

[Bogdanov] There was no discussion in the press. But there is no doubt that the draft decree was discussed by a whole series of organizations whose job it is to formulate such documents. And they took a long time formulating it. Temporary provisions were in force in individual regions in the country prior to that. As a matter of fact, these provisions were of great help in the imposition of order.

[Andrusenko] Have there already been cases when internal troops have started using their powers, including even extreme measures?

[Bogdanov] I can reply with absolute accuracy: Internal troops have not yet been used even once in any incidents in Moscow. They get involved in the militia's work only in mass events like parades, soccer matches, and firework displays. Not a single internal troops subunit was used in the events of which we spoke earlier. The staffers in unusual uniform who maintained order in the squares and streets belonged not to the internal troops but to the capital's militia subunits.

[Andrusenko] And how is the militia collaborating with ideological workers? One gets the impression that the voices of those selfsame "Democratic Union" members can be heard more loudly than the voices of our propaganda workers. Will the militia have to take on the functions of propaganda workers?

[Bogdanov] We would very much like to see the city party organization's propaganda apparatus and its aktiv working more energetically and more assertively to uphold the correctness of party policy, even in the most complex situations. There have been some positive changes in this work recently. But militia staffers often have to perform this function.

[Andrusenko] Are they ready for this work?

[Bogdanov] Not always, unfortunately. We are working with our cadres in this area.

[Andrusenko] Last June a group of our editorial office staff members saw a group of Armenians marching along Krasnaya Presnya Street toward the TASS building; people were extremely excited and shouted threats. The purpose of the march was to find out from the TASS leadership the reasons behind the lack of full information about events in Stepanakert, behind the silence of the press. The TASS responsible secretary addressed those assembled on that occasion. But his statement did not placate people. Could you make an assessment of this event?

[Bogdanov] Yes, this did indeed happen. A column of these people, excited by the speeches of irresponsible individuals in the Armenian section of Vagankovskoye Cemetery, made its way toward the city center. Malicious disobedience was the only response to repeated appeals by militia staffers not to breach public order. Road traffic was halted along the route taken by the march—Vosstaniya Square, the Sadovoye Beltway, and outside the TASS building. We were forced to deploy our forces outside the TASS building and to halt any further procession by participants in the unauthorized demonstration. Following the speech by the TASS representative which you described, appeals were made by so-called "leaders" of the Armenians to proceed toward the city center. In these acute circumstances, I had to address those assembled to explain the offenses they were committing and to request them to end the unauthorized rally. This was followed by conversations with those assembled, tensions were eased, passions cooled down, people heeded our arguments and dispersed.

[Andrusenko] MVD staffers must of course be guardians of the law. But the point is that some laws are already outdated and are contrary to the altered social structures. This not only infringes citizens' rights; staffers of law enforcement organs also find themselves frequently in an awkward position. What is your attitude toward this problem?

[Bogdanov] It is perfectly natural that now there is talk about humanizing the Criminal Code. I have no doubt that it must be reviewed. We often come up against awkward situations in our practical work, when we need to take more decisive measures but are not in a position to do so because we lack the appropriate rights in our activity. A USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree was adopted quite recently, imposing stricter liability on those who like earning a little extra by gambling, including so-called "thimblerriggers." But if only you knew how hard it was to bring this decree into being. We submitted the relevant proposals a long time ago, but the adoption of the documents dragged on for months on end. We were given the necessary rights only after appropriate explanations and active intervention by superior organs. I can say that, in this regard, the situation in the city has improved considerably. And yet similar decrees had been promulgated in several of our republics a long time ago.

We are now encountering considerable complications in work with cooperative members. The inspection of the activity of people engaging in new forms of economic management demands an objective, considered, and tactful approach by staffers of internal affairs organs. Unfortunately, such an approach is still not fully forthcoming from individual staffers of the Department for Combating Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation.

[Andrusenko] Today, when decrees have been adopted to tangibly boost the MVD's rights, would it be logical to raise the question of making greater demands of militia staffers for the unconditional application of these decrees with full observance of socialist legality?

[Bogdanov] For many years the capital's militia was staffed mainly by people recruited elsewhere in the country. Of course, their lack of knowledge of the city, and at times the simple desire to obtain a residence permit for the city, resulted and still result in substantial cadre turnover. In parallel with omissions in educational work, this is one of the main reasons why we still have in our ranks people who do not deserve to work in law enforcement organs, people who commit all sort of offenses and at times even crimes. It is to be regretted that this year alone criminal proceedings have been instituted against 28 former staffers for crimes committed by them. This figure included six charges of theft of state property, three charges of fraud, and two charges of robbery. Extraordinary events occurred in the Zhdanovskiy and Oktyabrskiy Rayon Administrations for Internal Affairs in June and July. Staffers of the Oktyabrskiy Rayon Administration for Internal Affairs Extradepartmental Security Guard Service stole state property from the facilities they guarded. Militiamen from the Zhdanovskiy Rayon Administration for Internal Affairs Flying Squad were detained 22 June for the theft of motor vehicle tires, and a militiaman from the same subunit was arrested 8 July for complicity in robbery. These crimes are a particular social danger and

seriously damage the prestige of internal affairs organs. Consequently, the punishment is most severe. Criminal proceedings have been instituted in all these cases, the strictest possible service investigation is under way, and the Main Administration for Internal Affairs has issued orders for the punishment of a number of guilty persons. An in-depth inquiry has been launched into the causes of these events and the involvement of others, primarily of leaders, in all this.

We do not intend in any way to gloss over our problems. The capital's militia collective and its party organization are sufficiently strong and principled to wipe off the filth that has accumulated over the years. We will not change this line, come what may. We realize that the prestige of militia staffers has been seriously undermined. There is no question that militia staffers themselves are primarily to blame for this.

But the following fact must also be taken into account. Recently there have been serious changes in labor remuneration for many categories of workers, but this has not yet extended to militia staffers. A militiaman is paid R165 [per month] during his 1st year of service. Furthermore, he is constantly working overtime and at times even without days off. His work is done at any time of the day or night, in any weather. Something else that is very important is that very often we have to perform functions that have nothing to do with our job. If janitors do not sweep the city the precinct officer is taken to task. If road maintenance workers neglect the roads we are taken to task. The militia supervise waiting lines for wine and for women's purses. Surely the city must have better uses to which it can put our staffers' energies?

Let me repeat: The situation in the city is quite complex. There is rising crime among adolescents, the number of crimes linked with the use and sale of drugs has almost doubled, the number of thefts from apartments and cars is rising, the theft of motor vehicles is now more frequent.

Yes, it is necessary to look at things realistically. There were many situations in the past when the militia's unjustified actions caused serious complaints by citizens. Echoes of the past can still be encountered today. I think, however, that the time has come to enter into a new stage of our mutual relations. We can win the people's trust only by trusting them in return, by full openness and a respectful attitude toward every citizen in the country. This is our goal, no matter how complex achieving it might be. We hope very much for reciprocity and understanding. The new page of our relations must record joint actions rather than complaints. We have a common cause. And we share one and the same home.

Editorial Office Commentary [subhead]

The viewpoint of the leader of the Main Administration for Internal Affairs on the problems covered by the interview is certainly important and interesting. The

view of identical events from Petrovka Street and from the editorial office could be different, if for no other reason than the specific nature of these two social institutions.

The militia's job is to maintain public order and to combat breaches of the law. But today it must also restructure its approaches and its principles of work, taking the new democratic reality into account. At this point we would like to emphasize one important aspect of the present time. Our militia was created as a people's militia, in other words a militia defending the people's interests and relying on their broad support. Today, however, this link and these broad contacts with the public—not for show or ostentation like the irksome "sponsorship" by cultural figures, but permanent and businesslike contacts with the intelligentsia, a sort of "mutual feedback"—are in very short supply. There is also a lack of careful attention, embracing criticism as well, paid to law enforcement organs' work by the legal community and by our legal scientists, who are today voicing quite a few interesting ideas about democratization and the move toward a rule-of-law state. The complexity of the situation lies in the fact that nobody has ready prescriptions for all events in life—everybody must learn, including our militia. After all, things which until quite recently were not permitted or were banned, are now becoming a normal form of social life. Informal political associations are a reality—a complex and contradictory reality, which changes daily. It is important to be able to control this reality by relying on the power of constructive dialogue, argument, and open and honest debate. This skill is still in short supply among party and Komsomol officials. Meanwhile reliance on strength could push people into extremist actions.... In all probability, many doubts and fears also existed while the Estonian or Latvian "Popular Front" was being created, and by no means everyone liked their slogans and programs. But the intelligent, dignified, and restrained stance taken by these republics' party organizations, a stance aimed at dialogue and consolidation, transforms such spontaneously emerging movements into a mainstay in the complex struggle for restructuring.

Patience, calm, and respect for the opponent—this is what we often lack. Following in Lenin's footsteps, we must be able to argue even with those whom we dislike, with fundamental adversaries. It is impossible to inculcate conscious discipline in people without persuasion.

And one last point. We give due credit to the confidence of the chief of the Main Administration for Internal Affairs that the militia is capable of solving all the acute problems listed in the interview. But this will be difficult without help from the city's party aktiv and public. Today we are creating a rule-of-law state and we are just taking the initial steps. This is why we need more specific and more appropriate laws, and these laws must be adopted in the course of broad democratic discussion—legally worked out laws, leaving no room for different or arbitrary interpretations. Laws guaranteeing order and every individual's rights.

It is necessary to constantly clarify each other's positions; a dialogue is necessary. This is the only path toward a free and reasonable development of our civil society.

Lawyer Comments on Criminal Code, Human Rights
LD2910005788 Moscow in English to North America
2300 GMT 28 Oct 88

[Text] West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl told a news conference in Moscow on Wednesday as he completed his 3-day visit to the Soviet Union that all those whom the West describes as political prisoners would be released by the end of the year. He said he had received Soviet assurances, although neither the West German Chancellor nor Soviet officials gave any details. The Voice of America, referring to Charles Redman, a [U.S.] State Department official, Amnesty International, and the Western mass media, give varying figures of political prisoners in the USSR which are not confirmed either by sources or documents. Gennadiy Gerasimov, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, said a dozen or two people were to be released. At any rate, most observers agree that the number of political detainees in the past 2 years has greatly decreased with many being freed under last year's two government amnesties and with some ending their prison term. Not a single case of anti-Soviet activity has come to court over the period.

The current changes in human rights follow further democratization of Soviet society and the start of a legal reform which will review criminal codes of the constituent republics. The reform will also affect the two clauses on the anti-Soviet activities under which most political prisoners were convicted in the past. Article 190 of the Criminal Code entails punishment for spreading rumors, orally or in writing, which discredit the Soviet Government or society. Article 70 provides for imprisonment for agitation or propaganda aiming at undermining or weakening Soviet rule. Legal experts say Article 190 could make one liable to imprisonment for criticizing the local authorities, for discontent over the past or existing law and order, for keeping banned books, or just for a random political anecdote.

(Aleksandr Yakovlev), a lawyer who is involved in working out new legislation, said in an interview with the Soviet weekly OGONEK that experts were unanimous that there was no need for Article 190 in the new criminal code. As for Article 70, he said, its application should be modified. He said a call for forcible overthrow of the constitutional government or incitement to do so should be made an offense.

Meanwhile, similar laws have been legislated in many countries, including the West. Italy's criminal code, for one, says a citizen spreading or passing outside his country falsified, exaggerated, or biased information about the country's internal state, capable of weakening its prestige or credibility, or engaging in activities which could damage its national interests, could be imprisoned

for up to 5 years. Although American laws do not provide for imprisonment for anti-American activities, the nongovernmental organization in New York, the Center for Constitutional Rights, says the number of political prisoners in the country runs from hundreds to several thousand, who are formally jailed on criminal charges. The U.N. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 provides for restriction of rights and liberties to protect national security, general order, health or morality, as well as to secure respect for the rights and reputation of other individuals. This principle will probably become the basis of a legal state [as heard] in the Soviet Union.

Psychiatrists To Rejoin International Body
LD2810204888 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 28 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] An all-union congress of neuropathologists, psychiatrists, and narcologists has closed in Moscow. The fact that scientific congresses are now being held in a turbulent atmosphere and debates are being held in an open and businesslike manner is a sign of the times.

Yet, two decisions which could be called sensational were adopted at this congress. After 5 years of alienation—in 1983 Soviet psychiatrists left the World Association—a decision was adopted to reenter that organization. This decision shows our scientists' aspiration to restore international contacts and also the rebuilding of respect for and confidence in Soviet psychiatry. And second, the congress adopted a very important decision: A society of neurologists has been set up, a new scientific society in our country. [passage omitted]

Corruption of Saratov Militia, Official Exposed
WA18000048 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 11 Oct 88 p 1

[Article by V. Zlobin, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent in Saratov: "'Seizure Operation,' Pace of the 'Militia Horse' Before the Accountability and Election Meeting"]

[Text] It may be incredible, but it is a fact. In order to compromise an "unsuitable" party organization secretary, with the help of friends from the militia and without any cause whatsoever, Ye. Ponomarev, director of the Uleshovskaya Petroleum Products Base, tried to place him in a medical sobering-up station. But let us leave for later the details of this scandalous story....

I began with it only because it describes quite accurately the work methods of the manager of the petroleum products base. Its accountability and election party meeting was stormier than anyone can ever recall. For nearly 4 hours a sharp and impartial discussion was held on the state of affairs at the enterprise, the personal contribution of the party members to restructuring and

the style of the administrative leadership. As a result, the petroleum products base director was not elected member of the new party bureau. His name was not even included in the list for secret balloting.

What did he do to merit such an attitude toward himself? Let us try to find the answer in the speeches.

V. Melnichuk, senior economist, petroleum products base: What kind of restructuring and initiative could there be a question of if Ponomarev has crushed the public organizations and all of his subordinates?

V. Shleyev, electric fitter: The situation in the collective will not become normal as long as the director is driving out the honest people and supporting the swindlers. Consider the shameful case of fitter Belyayev.

N. Nikitka, party bureau secretary, chairman of the repair-operations shop: As member of the party bureau, Ponomarev was responsible for the ideological sector. However, he simply ignored this work. The party bureau cannot find a common language with him. His entire attitude toward people is reduced to persecutions, threats, and intrigues.

Could it be that such maximalist views were expressed only at that meeting, I thought. Alas! I later spoke to labor veterans, such as V. Popov, boiler room senior mechanic; A. Nikolenko, fitter; G. Dzhililov, machine operator; V. Plekhanov, chief engineer at the petroleum products base; and G. Zub, electric fitter, and their responses were similar. To sum it up, briefly: Ponomarev abuses his official position. He has divided the collective into "his people" and "strangers," into suitable and unsuitable people. He brooks no criticism and he threatens, denigrates, and insults people.

As we can see, the atmosphere of restructuring is reaching not only the big plants and establishments, where democratic management methods are being energetically asserted, but also neglected areas of enterprises, such as, for example, the Uleshovskaya Base. Here as well the Communists are speaking out. When this happened, it was no accident that Ponomarev turned out to be their first opponent. He was always enraged by any kind of independence in people. Independence of views itself seemed to him criminal.

The Uleshovskaya Petroleum Products Base is in charge of all fuel and lubricants which are shipped to Saratov and about 30 gas stations in the oblast center. Furthermore, its services are used by 30,000 Saratov motorboats and launches. This makes it a major enterprise. Ever since Ponomarev was appointed its director (which was 4 years ago), independent-thinking personnel turned out to be unwanted. Conflicts traditionally ended with the victory of the manager. However, ever greater obstacles were erected on Ponomarev's way. Two years ago, for example, V. Kravchenko, who had previously worked at a plant and was familiar with what real production

means, became chief of shop of the gas stations (AZS). He began to remove the old foundations, doubtful customs, traditions, and "laws." He did not follow the example of A. Yegorov, his predecessor, who, as he said himself, was nothing but the formal chief. He managed the shop for 3 years, did not hire or fire a single person and let Ponomarev personally make all decisions pertaining to the shop.

Kravchenko decided to organize matters as they should, starting with improving the work. Taking the AZS of the Baltic area as an example, he wanted to reorganize his own on the basis of the more progressive, the brigade work method. Nothing of the sort! The director of the petroleum products base had no intention of assigning him real obligations. It was then that the "shakeup" of the collective started. The innovator was supported by many people and, particularly valuable, by the party organization and party Bureau Secretary N. Nikitin. And although Kravchenko had to resign, this time Ponomarev did not get away with such arbitrary behavior. By decision of the party meeting he was issued a reprimand which was entered into his party record. A reprimand without such an entry was issued by the party members to their secretary as well, for weakening control over administrative activities.

It was then that everything began. Having gotten rid of Kravchenko, Ponomarev turned his disfavor toward those who had supported him. Naturally, the party organizer was his first target.

N. Nikitin had been the head of the party organization for 4 years. He had spent 20 years working as an electric fitter, senior foreman in charge of electrical equipment, and chief of the power shop. He knew the collective well and was responsive to its problems. He enjoyed a good reputation and, to the director, who had subordinated to his will one and all, he proved to be a hard nut to crack, as fitter A. Nikolayenko said at the meeting. The party organization headed by Nikitin grew and strengthened. Despite the dramatic departure from the petroleum products base of innovator V. Kravchenko, his ideas concerning a brigade organization of labor, supported by the party bureau, were accepted by the collective. This was a good prerequisite for the forthcoming conversion of the enterprise to cost accounting and self-financing....

Nonetheless, constant reports on violations at AZS's kept being received by the petroleum products base and the oblast administration. Gas station workers were being tried for theft. Discipline violations became the norm. The party members tried to fight this situation, but every time they would come against the strong defense put up by the director.

It was no accident that the event involving fitter A. Belyayev was recalled at the meeting. This story is more than striking. In the course of an investigation of the AZS where he worked as a fitter, controllers noticed at one of the pumps, between the meter and the hose, a

draining pipe, which was not part of the design. With its help, approximately 10 percent of the gasoline which ran through the meter and was paid for by the customer went back into the tank. A simple computation indicated that in a single month, thanks to such a "rationalization," the clients were shorted (or rather, it was siphoned off from them) some 20 tons of gasoline, worth 8,000 rubles. Considering the particular danger represented by such a theft, V. Plekhanov, the petroleum products base chief engineer (who, at that time, was interim director), fired Belyayev with the agreement of the trade union committee. But far from it! Returning from leave, the director took up the defense of the "rationalizer" and, with the help of the trade union obkom (!), rehired him. This strange loyalty on the part of the director was commented on in all shops and at party and trade union meetings. It was also mentioned from the rostrum of the accountability and election meeting. This being an open meeting, it was possible to combine the views of party and nonparty members and to formulate principle-minded assessments.

Let us now go back to the story of the detention of the party bureau secretary.

On that hot Thursday, toward the end of the working day, a commission consisting of L. Kotlyar, deputy chief, oblast RSFSR State Committee for Petroleum Products, S. Mitrofanov, trade union committee chairman, and N. Nikitin, party bureau secretary at the petroleum products base, had just completed their investigation of one of the complaints filed against the director. The complaint turned out to be legitimate. Nikitin said good-bye to his colleagues and walked from the red corner to his own office. At that point he was detained on the spot by Militia Major V. Gryakolov, senior representative of the OBKhSS [Department for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation] of the Zavodskiy ROVD [Rayon Department of Internal Affairs] in Saratov. Peremptorily, the guardian of public order ordered the head of the party organization to follow him. "Why?" Nikitin asked indignantly. "Because you are drunk," trumpeted the militia major. Dismayed by such an obvious slander, Nikolay Vasilyevich wanted to turn for help to the base director, who was walking behind the major. However, seeing the malicious triumphant smirk on Ponomarev's face, he realized that it was useless to seek help from that quarter.

Shoving the party organization secretary into the car, the militia major and the petroleum products base director took him to the medical unit of the Aerospace Plant. To their great disappointment, the personnel of the medical unit did not provide the desired proof. However, Nikitin was not released. The "escort" decided at all cost to achieve the necessary "compromise." Compromising a commission member would mean an impartial conclusion concerning the complaint. The party leader was taken to the LTP [expansion unknown], which is 30

kilometers away at the opposite end of the city. Here as well, however, the people did not agree to falsifying a record. The conclusion was that Nikitin was sober.

This result was not part of Ponomarev's and Gryakolov's plan, and even less so of Yu. Gordeyev's, militia lieutenant colonel, chief of the Zavodskiy ROVD (who, bluntly stated, had conspired with Ponomarev and sent the major to carry out this profane "seizure operation"). Although Nikitin was proven innocent, the ROVD not only did not apologize but kept him for several more hours in the pretrial detention cell.

In addition to Ponomarev, Gordeyev, the chief of the Zavodskiy ROVD, and Gryakolov, whom we have already met, others involved in the raid against the party organizer were Militia Captain A. Pavlov, the deputy chief of the ROVD and the officer on duty, Master Sergeant S. Dashkevich, assistant to the duty officer, and Militia Lieutenant A. Yudin, section inspector. Altogether, five senior personnel of the rayon internal affairs department, bearing in mind that, as a rule, the 24-hour-operative ROVD group consists of five persons! Coincidentally, precisely while the "seizure operation" of Nikitin was taking place, a real crime—a murder—was committed on the rayon's territory.

But what about Ponomarev? After the meeting, we held a discussion at the little square not far from the petroleum products base.

"You must realize," he insinuated, "that the atmosphere in the collective is unhealthy and that no more than 20 percent of the responsibility is mine...."

What a resemblance with the event involving Belyayev! He too was to be blamed for 10 percent: It was no more than 10 percent of the gasoline that he shorted his customers.

I recall the statement by V. Melnikova, petroleum base worker:

"Let me say honestly to this entire meeting. You, Yevgeniy Petrovich, cannot be a manager...."

Nikitin was "spared" in the elections for the new party bureau. He himself had requested it. This was not a question of acting, faint-heartedness, or treason. It was simply that Nikolay Vasilyevich had realized that a worthy replacement had developed, which could take the project further as well as he could. The party members as well realized that the burden should not always fall on the same person. Unquestionably, the "detention story" had something to do with it.

Does this mean that the director succeeded? No, he did not, and that is the merit of the accountability and election party meeting, which dotted all the i's. By rejecting the old approaches to the work and lashing at

stereotypes and bureaucratic ambitions, the party members engaged in a thorough and constructive discussion on the social and spiritual transformation of the collective. Independence of judgments and a profound critical analysis of the state of affairs, without which no progress is possible, were helped by the released creative atmosphere at the meeting. The party members themselves were the generators of such an atmosphere, which meant that the ice had broken.

It was reported yesterday from the Saratov RSFSR Goskomnefteprodukt Administration that Ye. Ponomarev had been released of his duties as director of the Uleshovskaya Petroleum Products Base and...appointed deputy director of the neighboring one, the Engelskaya Base. Could it be that someone liked his special talents?

Correction to Maslyukov Report on State Plan

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "State Plan Report Published," carried in the 28 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 38-52:

page 46, column one, paragraph three to four should read: ...for these products.

It is now important not to permit the construction of new projects that do not accord with the requirements for ecological cleanliness. Much is being done here. I shall cite just a few examples.

Thus the building... (supplying dropped paragraph)

Economic

Articles on Price Reform Criticized

PM2810161588 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 43, Oct 88 (Signed to Press 20 Oct 88) pp 4-5

["Polemical Remarks" by A. Komin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices: "Restructuring of the Economy: Competence and Glasnost"]

[Text] *It is often said that the Soviet people deserve a better life. Yes, they do. But how is this to be ensured? It is inappropriate to rely on outside assistance—this is understandable. But what is the solution? The solution lies only in enhancing the economy's efficiency and in good work. The sooner we realize this, the quicker we will attain the desired level of prosperity. This is the essence of restructuring.*

Difficult Path of Changes [subhead]

There can be no argument that we have at our disposal everything we need to make up for the omissions and lead the economy to new and modern frontiers. This work is, of course, complex and difficult because it involves not only the simple "technocratic" organization of production but also changes in mentality and even

changes in the lifestyle to which we are accustomed. Each and every one of us must inwardly "reeducate" himself, transcend his own limitations, as it were, and put an end to indifference, passiveness, and freeloading.

This is much harder to achieve than organizational changes, and it will take much longer. Therefore the encouragement of impatience regarding the results of restructuring is as misplaced and as harmful as applying brakes to its progress. The work on which we have embarked is serious; the measures which will have to be taken to improve the economy's health and accelerate the pace of its development will be far from easy; they will not come into effect accompanied by the fanfares and victory reports to which we were once accustomed.

Let us go no further than such complex questions as technical lags, production imbalances, general shortages, and disorder in the finance and credit system. Their solution is complex. There are also many other problems whose solution will demand considerable efforts by the whole Soviet people. It is impossible to imagine that, for example, the introduction of full economic accountability and the transition to self-financing will proceed without a single hitch. For the time being, attention is mainly focused on expanding labor collectives' independence, and this is welcomed by all. But there is also an enhancement of their economic responsibility for the results of production, and this is still not very tangible because there is still an opportunity, at ministry level, to redistribute funds and to support collectives which work badly at the expense of front-rankers. But these opportunities are becoming fewer as the substantiation of economic normatives becomes greater.

Economic responsibility boils down to a simple formula: You get paid according to your work. There must neither be "figure padding" nor guaranteed remuneration regardless of work results. Everyone must count every single ruble that is spent on production. And if this ruble is spent to pay the wage of an engineer, foreman, team leader, or worker without whom it might be possible to manage, then he must give up this work (even though he might be used to it) and move to another job where he would be useful. Here you have a completely new view of our organization of production! Is it likely that its introduction will run smoothly and painlessly?

How about the structural restructuring of production which is inevitable, especially in view of the transition to wholesale trade? It will affect many enterprises whose output will immediately become superfluous. What is to be done here? It is impossible to carry on along the old beaten track, it is necessary to restructure production, to retool, to learn anew. This is even more complex and will require tremendous efforts by collectives. Of course, society has the right to allow a certain time for such a restructuring, but it cannot be lengthy because it is linked with losses. Therefore this will affect many people and the achievement of a new structure cannot be easy.

What is the meaning of "will affect"? It will affect the established and customary style of life itself, and primarily labor activity in its entirety, attitudes toward labor, and the results of the valuation of labor. We will have to bid farewell to the customary "stability" and leveling in labor remuneration, and those who are used to slipshod work must have their labor appropriately valued. The specific measures to extricate the economy from the precrisis situation must be based on the entire arsenal of economic science, and these measures are by no means as simple as some people imagine. Their specific complexity lies in the fact that economics ultimately deals with people, with the organization of their relations in production and the distribution of the results of production, with living standards as a whole and with the living standards of social groups and strata.

Many people adopt a simplistic approach toward these questions, drawing conclusions and making suggestions on the basis of superficial phenomena and failing to notice the entire package of deep-rooted ties underlying the economic processes. Moreover, these conclusions and suggestions are not substantiated by calculations, by any scientific method used in their elaboration and generalization. This approach gives rise to subjectivism and voluntarism in the economy and is clearly visible in many articles. When explaining complex questions of the improvement of the economy's health, many representatives of economic science once again take a stance of permanent opposition to practice. This is very convenient. First, criticism is the easiest thing of all. Second, criticizing is "prestigious," and third—and this is the most important point—there is no need to shoulder responsibility for one's suggestions because suggestions are simply not forthcoming.

Emotions Are No Argument [subhead]

Hitherto some of our authors, examining serious problems and writing in our press, draw conclusions, make suggestions, or simply polemicize on the basis of emotions and a desire to stun a mass readership, instead of proceeding from a healthy analysis of the figures and facts which describe the state of the economy. Such a lightweight approach can be seen when problems of economic restructuring are tackled from positions of "overconfidence." The object of the quest is not the improvement of production organization or the improvement of labor-intensiveness, but some miraculous levers, which are allegedly right there, within our reach, while the circulation of these reserves for the benefit of the people depends solely on prompt action at the top.

When trying to identify these reserves, reference is quite often made to the fact that the management apparatus in our country numbers 18 million people, whose wages amount to R40 billion. The conclusion is perfectly obvious: Reduce it by one-half and you get R20 billion. However, nobody has yet said that this figure is made up

not of functionaries sitting in ministries and departments but mainly of the management personnel of enterprises and organizations, amounting to almost 16 million people. Consequently, matters are not as simple as they might appear, because this figure includes directors, enterprise management personnel, foremen, and engineering and technical staff. Of course, these categories also have room for cutbacks. But something else must also be borne in mind—the economic independence of enterprises will require the reinforcement of commercial services.

Take for example the data published by V. Selyunin claiming that, in actual fact, the accumulations fund in our country represents not 25 but 40 percent of national income. It is understandable that, given such a proportion of accumulations, there is no point in taking the trouble to seek reserves in the economy. All that needs to be done is to reduce the "inflated" accumulation by one-half, and this will raise living standards by at least 20 percent. The author has excluded from the total for the consumption fund an amount of R90 billion in respect of turnover tax on consumer goods, which, in his opinion, artificially raises the price of consumer goods. As a result of this operation, the proportion of national income represented by the consumption fund has declined while the proportion of accumulation has increased. But the author has overlooked a tiny detail. Namely: Our economy contains not only a turnover tax amount of R90 billion but also subsidies for consumer goods and services amounting to almost the same sum. Selyunin has simply forgotten to add the total amount of subsidies to the consumption fund, and all miracles would evaporate if this were to be done.

Do We Have the Right To Live on Borrowed Money? [subhead]

Since we have seriously gotten down to the business of restructuring, we must truthfully and honestly look at the realities of life and implement measures on a scientific basis, proceeding from the tasks of extricating the economy from the precrisis situation, no matter how hard or bitter these measures might be for us. We must inform the people of this truth. At times, this actual approach is not sufficiently applied when explaining the problems of economic restructuring. Some authors, holding themselves to be active champions of restructuring, quite often come out with frenzied criticism of measures which they deem incorrect, guided by the old criteria: "Do what is advantageous today, and don't do what is difficult and disadvantageous." There are at times signs of an attempt to turn public opinion against various so-called unpopular measures. They try to convince readers that restructuring should bear fruit from the very outset in the form of substantial enhancement of living standards and material security, otherwise there is no point in even embarking on it.

It is, of course, impossible to lead the economy out of the state of stagnation without overcoming serious difficulties, without making efforts. It is altogether inappropriate to play on these difficulties, as many authors of

published articles have done. And one is altogether at a loss to comprehend statements to the effect that living standards must and can be seriously improved within a year or two. All that needs to be done is supply the market with good-quality articles, either paying for them in gold or asking for credit facilities abroad.

Actually, in my view, the article "So That Advances Do Not Become Debts" (EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA No 16) offers a convincing criticism of such statements. Unfortunately, many people pin hopes on credits—every article on the problems of restructuring contains a suggestion about credits. As regards credits from the West for restructuring in the sense that we perceive it, we are hardly likely to obtain them. But credits for goods could be forthcoming, and at good interest rates at that. But if not we, then our children will have to pay twice as much for them.

The question is: Do we have the moral right to live on borrowed money, essentially not only spending the results of our own labor but also dipping into our children's pockets? How can anyone imagine that we could turn our internal debt into state foreign currency indebtedness? And generally speaking, have the authors of these suggestions thought about the sort of credit we would need, whether all this is realistic? There are not just 15 or even 30 million of us; we are a people of 280 million, and this gives an idea of the huge credit we might be talking about.

Legacy of Past Periods [subhead]

The reform of price formation is one of the most acute questions of restructuring which are now being actively discussed in our press. The acuteness of this question stems from the fact that a review of retail prices is planned, and this affects everybody. There are opponents and supporters of this reform, and various methods and means for its implementation are suggested. This is why it is very important to investigate the causes which necessitated the review of prices. Is it all that necessary?

Indeed, how did the economists' suggestions about price review descend upon us? There they were, happily silent, and suddenly they started talking about an immediate, urgent, and serious increase in prices and charges in virtually all spheres of the national economy. We were brought to this point by the line which was pursued contrary to the demands of economic laws, and even if some economists did speak about it they did so in lobbies, stairwells, and other such places. As for propaganda and the press, they were talking about price reductions just around the corner. Realizing that price reductions were not to be in our country, for a long time we proclaimed stability of retail prices for basic food and nonfood goods while increasing them directly or indirectly in actual reality. How are we to continue? Carry on as before, saying one thing and doing something else? To

deceive ourselves and the population? Or has the time come to tell the truth about the state of our economy and the ways out of the difficulties, no matter how bitter this truth might be?

Unfortunately, commodity-money relations (which really are a part of our life) have produced numerous reasons underlying price rises rather than price reductions. These factors are inherent in the very nature of paper money, the dynamics of wage growth, and the laws governing money circulation. The main point is the extent to which the economic mechanism counters the trends underlying price rises. We paid no attention to these problems in the past, thinking that since we were managing the economy everything was within our power. Hence, in particular, it can be said that over the decades wage growth unrelated to labor results built up the potential for price rises with which we have to cope today.

The prevailing price system with its distortions, inconsistencies, and subsidies is the direct result of voluntarism in the economy, of the trampling of economic laws. Given the existence of this price system, it is impossible to expect swift returns from the economic reform. We are, after all, talking about economic methods for managing the economy and about enhancing the role of commodity-money relations, and prices constitute their most important element. This is why reform in this sphere is an integral part of the package of measures for radical economic reform. Out of all the measures already taken, this is the most complex, the most difficult, but also the most necessary one.

None of these questions arose only today, all of a sudden. They all should have been solved back in the seventies, but their solution was put off thanks to the "oil boom" and the formation of revenue from the sale of wine and vodka products. But even that was not enough to cope with the increasingly broad contradictions. We started raising prices for so-called nonessential goods—carpets, crystal, jewelry, cars, gasoline, furs, and so on. The situation has now undergone radical change. Previously we could buy 2 tonnes of grain for 1 tonne of oil, but now everything is the other way round. The accumulation of contradictions, subsidies, price distortions, and financial problems—all these have placed a barrier in the path toward the improvement of the economy's health and the introduction of new economic management methods.

A Constructive Approach Is Needed [subhead]

One can perfectly well understand the population's worry about the forthcoming reform of retail prices. What effect will it have on living standards? Will the material situation deteriorate? Such fears can be understood, even though it has been firmly declared that this reform should not result in a decline in living standards.

Many economists, including officials from price formation organs, recently started for the first time ever writing frankly and bluntly in the press about oversights in this sector, about serious deformations in economic processes stemming from shortcomings in price formation. Specific proposals are made for restructuring the price system, noting the need to raise price levels in many sectors and spheres, including retail prices for foodstuffs.

But instead of engaging in a businesslike discussion, some authors of numerous newspaper and journal articles reject these proposals "out of hand," often failing to suggest anything constructive, and guided by nothing but emotion and the desire to appear as defenders of the people's interests. And all serious arguments and proposals on price formation are a priori proclaimed unacceptable.

Such an approach toward debate has never produced any benefit. Its ultimate purpose is to fan passions and emotions rather than to explain the truth and elaborate constructive proposals. A. Nuykin's article "About the Price of Words and the Price of Products," published in OGONEK (No 22) deserves closer study. True enough, the author says that he is not against reform, that he is for reform. Essentially, however, he suggests that we do nothing but wait for new prices to automatically emerge as the economy's health improves. But what will happen if it is not always possible to consistently resolve one problem after another in the economy, as we would like to do; what will happen if the current prices are what actually hinder the improvement of the economy's health? What will happen if the improvement of the health of the commodity-money mechanism, primarily in finance and prices, should actually be, if not a prelude to, at least a key component of the improvement of the economy's health as a whole?

The author of the article criticizes Academician A. Aganbegyan for his suggestion to raise the prices of raw materials, fuel, and energy. And yet the academician expressed his opinion after a thorough and comprehensive study of the economic conditions prevailing in these sectors. The coal industry has been operating at a loss for more than 30 years, and the sector's annual subsidies run to R5 billion. If we maintain the current prices of oil, this sector will also operate at a loss during the 13th 5-Year Plan period. There will also be a sharp decline in the profitability of gas extraction.

The question is: How are we to live? What resources will we use to subsidize the extraction of more than 600 million tonnes of oil and more than 700 million tonnes of coal, never mind gas?

For some unknown reason, Nuykin makes no mention of this, and yet it is the decisive factor in the question of ways to further improve wholesale prices for fuel and for raw and other materials. The situation with prices in the fuel complex is actually explained by voluntarist ideas about the possibility of endlessly maintaining low price

levels and about our inexhaustible natural resources, discounting the deterioration in natural conditions for the extraction of oil, gas, and other minerals. All this must be reviewed and corrected today. The question is absolutely simple: Will we continue to live with prices which do not permit us to transfer coal miners and timber procurers, and even oil extraction workers in the long run, to economic accountability, prices which will continue to encourage the squandering of these resources, will we continue to develop along the well-trodden extensive path?

About Purchase Prices, Prime Costs, and Economic Mismanagement [subhead]

There is also another problem in price formation—the problem of purchase prices. What does this problem involve? Having raised purchase prices on several occasions over the last 30 years, we simultaneously increased subsidies to agriculture via various channels, subsidizing equipment, mineral fertilizers, and even mixed feeds. Electricity is sold to the countryside at preferential rates. Consequently, the entire growth in electricity consumption in agriculture in the last few years is attributable not to power supply needs but to heating costs, and this is irrational for the national economy. Generally speaking, for how long can the economy endure a situation whereby the two largest sectors—industry and agriculture—interact at artificially reduced subsidized prices rather than at prices reflecting actual socially necessary costs? Devaluation of output for consumers has never produced any good and has never encouraged thrifty utilization of resources. For example, we produce many more tractors and combine harvesters than the United States, and yet they are still in short supply to this day.

Is it possible to talk about improving the economy's health, given the existence of deformed prices? All this must also be resolved since it is unnatural to continue agriculture's economic interaction with other sectors at subjectively determined prices.

There is, of course, a lot of economic mismanagement in the countryside, and readers are correct in writing about this. But nobody actually intends to base the new price structure on economic mismanagement. There are equally unrealistic suggestions that it is supposedly possible to reduce prices right now, provided they are geared to the prime costs of front-ranking contract teams and links.

As a matter of fact, lease contractors calculate the low prime costs "in their own fashion"—they include only money expenditure on the acquisition of materials (feeds), while their own wages (and even depreciation at times) are not taken into account because they are determined by applying the leftover principle to the end price.

Here we come up against a very delicate question and, for some reason, everybody avoids giving an answer to it. Having calculated the low prime cost of meat produced by the "Arkhangelsk muzhik," they immediately conclude that prices can be brought down to the level of this prime cost without asking his consent. A really nice prospect—you bring down the prime costs, and we will immediately reduce the price of your output. Who can possibly be interested in such a prospect? In order to achieve a reduction of prime costs in agriculture to the level of retail prices it is necessary to double or treble labor productivity without raising current labor remuneration levels. Such incentives, or rather anti-incentives, have actually brought our economic management to the point where we have to effectively create it again from scratch.

Subsidies and Social Justice [subhead]

And finally, the most complex and one could say most unpleasant problems are now pressing in the sphere of retail prices. These problems have not arisen only now and have absolutely nothing to do, as A. Nuykin assumes, with the planned increase of wholesale prices for industrial output. These problems have built up over the decades and are rooted back in the fifties and sixties, when we repeatedly made decisions to increase purchase prices while maintaining retail prices for food at the level prevailing in 1955, and those for meat and dairy products at the level of 1962. It can be said that the discrepancies allowed to develop in prices have reached their limit. And this is not just a matter of the arithmetic of subsidies, as some people think. The entire price system is out of line with the objective economic laws of price formation and with the interests of the development not only of agricultural production but of the entire economy as well.

It is said that by maintaining retail prices for food at a low level we are actually creating conditions for making food affordable by all categories of the population, including low-paid workers and employees, pensioners, and students. This would actually be true if meat, milk, and other foodstuffs were being sold everywhere in our trade network. But a sizable proportion of meat and other products is bought either in commission stores or in markets, where their prices are twice or three times as high. Therefore the total food subsidy of R60 billion is distributed not according to the principle of social justice, but according to the access citizens have to a counter where they can buy produce at state prices. These are no longer only economic but also social problems concerning the distribution of national income among the population.

The question is: What will happen, will we carry on tolerating this situation—increasing subsidies, deforming the market and the population's demand, increasing shortages, and marching along the path of inflation? Or should we take some measures to get out of this blind alley?

Now let us look at the following question. If stores were to freely sell everywhere—as they should—meat, sausage products, and dairy products at state retail prices, while agriculture is paid 2-2.5 times more for them, who will tend the livestock and produce meat and milk? Ultimately, nobody. It is, after all, a fact that the rural population living within a radius of 300 and even 400 km from Moscow, with its own cars, prefers to travel to Moscow to shop for food once a week rather than producing it on its farms. The economy cannot be run for long at prices at which the valuation of labor in production is twice as high as the valuation of labor for this product in the market. This is a breach of all elementary demands not only of economic laws but also of a sensible economy in general.

The questions of reviewing prices and charges in the national economy were explained in detail in M.S. Gorbachev's report to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and were reflected in speeches by conference delegates. M.S. Gorbachev noted that we simply must solve this problem, no matter how difficult it might be and no matter what doubts and fears it might arouse at first glance. Serious work is now being done on the question of retail prices. Proposals on this issue will be submitted for nationwide discussion.

There can only be one approach here: under no circumstances should a change of retail prices be accompanied by a decline of people's living standards. The question is this: The funds now paid by the state as subsidies will be fully passed on to the population in the form of compensation. In this way, the state will not make any direct financial gain from the review of retail prices and the population will not lose anything. We are talking about improving the situation in the national economy and about creating more favorable conditions for the operation of economic levers and incentives, for boosting output and improving the quality of production, for fully supplying the market with foodstuffs as quickly as possible.

Whether we want to or not, the price reform, just like the economic reform, will have to be implemented. And not just formally, as many article writers suggest. Unfortunately, such a stance is also taken by some economic scientists. Recent statements by Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Deryabin deserve closer study. His suggestions change on every occasion, but they boil down to one thing—avoid a price reform. For example, he formerly suggested that meat prices be increased by R0.10 or R0.20 every 6 months or every year with an identical reduction of poultry prices. He recently suggested that the price of boneless meat be raised so that the average meat price reaches R2.40. This should be taken to mean that the price of R2 would apply not to boneless meat but to meatless bones. How can these suggestions by the author be taken seriously, bearing in mind that in order to make them "weighty" or to "amaze" the reader, he has gone as far as to suggest that we are supposedly buying meat from abroad that has been frozen for 20-25 years? Of course,

such meat does not exist anywhere in the world, but MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA published this fairytale. How can such statements be taken seriously?

Rumors and Reality [subhead]

I would like to mention the situation prevailing in price formation, which is at present very actively discussed in the press and on radio and television. These questions were the topic of discussion at a recent CPSU Central Committee Politburo session. Note was taken of the impermissibility of unjustifiably raising retail prices and charges and of improving financial indicators by raising prices. The attention of union republic councils of ministers and of local management organs was drawn to serious omissions in the implementation of price policy.

Centralized changes in list prices during the current 5-year plan period were made only in 1986. There were price increases for wine and vodka products and price reductions for children's goods, some types of adult clothing and footwear made from synthetic materials, medicines, and goods for cultural and domestic use. There was an 11-12 percent increase in locally set prices for potatoes and vegetables.

But now everybody is worried by rising average prices in some commodity groups. Indeed, average selling prices increased during the 5-year plan period for bakery products, potatoes, and vegetables, and among nonfood goods for hosiery, some types of clothing, television sets, and refrigerators.

The rise of average prices reflects two phenomena: The shift of consumer demand toward better quality and naturally more expensive goods; and the forcing of consumers to buy more expensive goods against their wish. It can be said that in conditions of market shortages, the second factor prevails. There were similar, and at times even greater, increases in average prices in the past as well. Over the last 2 years, the dynamics of average price increases were affected by the expansion of enterprises' rights and the opportunity given to them to set contract prices for especially fashionable goods. During the 2 years of light industry's work under the new conditions, the proportion represented by such goods rose from 2 to 9 percent. Of course this was bound to affect price levels.

When it was decided to give enterprises these rights, account was also taken of enterprises' desire to produce more expensive output. This is why it was envisaged that plans for the production of consumer goods in individual price groups would be set for enterprises, in order to ensure that goods at low prices are also manufactured. But this mechanism was not properly worked out and proved ineffective. Some enterprises even planned to reduce the manufacture of cheap goods. This was the

effect of the narrowminded, selfish interests of collectives which were concerned solely with their own profits and successful indicators. Workers in such enterprises forget that once outside the enterprise gates, they themselves become consumers.

The USSR State Committee for Prices, jointly with ministries and departments, is now elaborating measures to curb negative phenomena in price formation: measures aimed against the "erosion" of cheaper goods.

At the same time, the effectiveness of any measure can be ensured only if all enterprise collectives, labor collective councils, and trade union organizations are actively involved in its implementation. They must undertake to monitor the range of manufactured output and must prevent the unjustified deletion of cheap goods from production. Order can be imposed here only through joint efforts.

In conclusion, I would like to mention currently circulating rumors about supposed price increases for cars, gasoline, construction materials, and other goods. These rumors are absolutely groundless, they mislead the population, and they result in panic buying of things that are not even needed. All this deals a blow not only to our market, which is not all that well balanced, but also to the population's purse. What can be said in this context? Someone probably needs to circulate these rumors and, unfortunately, many people still fall for them.

The USSR State Committee for Prices is now working on measures to draft proposals for price reform. This is responsible and serious work and the proposals, as planned, will be submitted for nationwide discussion only after being worked out in detail and being thoroughly considered.

Solutions to 'Hidden Unemployment' Suggested
LD2810220088 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT
28 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—TASS Correspondent Kirill Dibrova writes:

Soviet economists regard the growth of industrial output in conditions of the reduction of the absolute number of workers as one of the first manifestations of real changes in the social sphere which are taking place within the framework of the restructuring of all the spheres of life in the USSR. The number of people employed in the production sphere was reduced by 1 million, including by 700,000 in industry, in the current year alone. At the same time, it was reported at the current session of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) that the national income is to grow by 4.6 percent in 1988 as against 2.3 percent in 1987.

Hidden unemployment, i.e. work below one's full capacity, which is a rather widespread phenomenon is being overcome in the process of redistribution of manpower.

The extent of hidden unemployment can be measured by the losses of working time which amount to 10-20 percent at some enterprises.

Disproportion in the distribution of manpower, its too high concentration in productive sectors and too low concentration in the services sector, is one of the main reasons for the existence of hidden unemployment. It is worth mentioning for the sake of comparison that in the United States 75 percent of the able-bodied population is employed in the non-productive sector. The figure for the USSR is 42 percent out of 130 million employed in the national economy.

This is why so much importance is attached today to the redistribution of manpower. It was pointed out at the meeting of the Politbureau of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee held this month that in the future labour productivity should grow more rapidly than the production volume. "This means not only the modernization of the productive sphere, but also the reduction of the number of people employed there," Professor Leonid Kunelskiy, member of the collegium of the USSR State Committee for Labour and Social Issues, has told TASS. "From 3 to 3.5 million people will be released in the current five-year-plan period (1986-1990)." A new economic mechanism creates conditions for that. It provides for the introduction of lease-contract and team-contract relations and, consequently, the growth of labour productivity.

However, this does not mean that hidden unemployment will turn into open unemployment. "There are several ways to channel the redundant personnel," Professor Kunelskiy said. Some of them, those who reached the pension age, retire. Others go to work at other sectors of the same enterprise, for instance in new redesigned shops, in social and communal sectors, in the second and third shifts. Still others go to work at other enterprises of the same industry which faces the problem of disproportions of manpower. Some people want to find an entirely new job. They can do it on their own or with the help of employment offices. It takes the offices from 3 to 4 weeks to find employment for them.

"Apart from it, a considerable part of people go to work at cooperatives or engage in individual labour activities," Professor Kunelskiy said. The personnel of the services sector is also growing. The number of people employed in the trade sector went up by 450,000 in the past two years, and in public health by 300,000. In the future, when appropriate conditions are created, the working day will be reduced instead of the release of manpower.

Soviet Fishing Trawler Sinks in Stormy Baltic
*LD2810152188 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT
23 Oct 88*

[Text] Riga October 28 TASS—Soviet "STB-1019" fishing trawler sank in the Baltic Sea during a storm. The crew of six was taken aboard another Soviet trawler.

This happened near Saaremaa Island, a TASS correspondent was told in the maritime inspection office in Riga. The trawler had dropped anchor to ride out the stormy weather. The anchor chain snapped because of the spurts of strong wind and the vessel was thrown over onto the rocks. Water gushed into the engine room through the resulting hole. The crew had time to descend into a life craft. The vessel sank.

The fishermen were picked up by the Soviet trawler "TB-22".

Scientific

Soviet Space Shuttle Launch Delayed, Postponed

Launch Preparations Described

*LD2810103288 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT
28 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—Today's Soviet newspapers wrote about last preparations for tomorrow's unmanned test flight of a reusable plane-shaped spacecraft, Buran.

Dispatches from the Baykonur Cosmodrome report last checks of the Buran whose launching mass reaches 100 tons.

In future, Buran crews will consist of 2 to 4 cosmonauts. Besides, the orbiter can carry six passengers.

Newspapers describe the Energiya heavy-lift 60-metre booster rocket which will take the Buran orbiter into space.

The rocket has two stages—the central block (second stage) and four blocks of the first stage around it.

First-stage engines use liquid fuel (kerosene and oxygen), while engines of the second stage use liquid components—oxygen and hydrogen.

Fuel accounts for 2,000 tons of the aggregate mass of the rocket-orbiter system which weighs 2,400 tons.

Comparing the cost of the Buran programme and that of a similar U.S. shuttle programme (10 billion dollars), newspapers say they are approximately identical.

The process of scavenging the Energiya rocket's tanks with nitrogen and their fuelling is to be completed this evening.

The launch of the Buran has been scheduled for 6:23 A.M. Moscow Time, October 29.

On the same day, the spacecraft is to land on a landing strip of the Baykonur Cosmodrome.

Launch 'Put Off' 4 Hours

LD2910041988 Moscow TASS in English 0417 GMT
29 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—The takeoff of the Soviet space transportation system Energiya including the reusable spaceship Buran, which was to take place at 6:23 Moscow time, has been put off for four hours, it was announced here.

Launch Postponed Indefinitely

LD2910072688 Moscow TASS in English 0725 GMT
29 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—The launch of the Soviet reusable spaceship Buran has been put off for an indefinite time, a TASS correspondent learned from sources in the know.

The liftoff originally was set for 6:23 Moscow time and then postponed for four hours.

Fault in Launch System

LD2910080788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0740 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Text] The teleprinter has just produced a TASS announcement from the Baykonur Cosmodrome.

At the final stage of the pre-launch preparation of the Energiya carrier-rocket with the Buran orbiter, deviations in the functioning of one of the launch-ensuring systems arose. Accordingly, the command was automatically given to cease further work. At the present moment, the correction of the faults is taking place. An announcement about the date and time of the launch will be made in due course.

Computers Stop Launch

LD2910082188 Moscow World Service in English
0815 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Excerpt] The test flight of the first Soviet reusable spaceship Buran scheduled for early morning today has been postponed. The launch was to take place from the Baykonur cosmodrome in Kazakhstan, a Soviet republic north of Central Asia.

One minute before the start, computers stopped the launch. The date and the time of the launch will be announced later. [passage omitted on background material]

Official on Shutdown

LD2910145688 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1420 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Text] Baykonur, 29 Oct (TASS)—Special TASS correspondent Valentin Ovcharev reports:

Only 51 seconds remained to the first launch of the universal space-rocket system 'Energiya-Buran' when the computer of the starting complex registered an irregularity in the operation of one of the units, and turned on the counter-emergencies system. The launch regimen was immediately stopped and the test start of the system postponed.

Major General of Aviation V. Gudilin, chief of the testing directorate, told journalists what happened:

Up until the very last moment, everything proceeded in accordance with the standard cyclogram. That is to say, the whole schedule for preparing the system was fulfilled precisely, to the second. But equipment is equipment. Fifty-one seconds before the launch, the automatic system did not formulate the command to continue firing. The release of "Energiya" from the service platforms and the preparation of the engines for the launch were going on at that time. Then the misfiring occurred: The platform of the cosmonauts' emergency evacuation unit—this is where the system which ensures that the rocket's gyroscopes are installed precisely is situated—did not move a safe distance away from the body of "Energiya". This was ascertained at once by the computer which conducts a constant "survey" of the system's 140 elements during the launch procedure.

Evidently, the fault was mechanical. But thankfully the malfunction was immediately discovered and it proved possible to avoid very unpleasant consequences, since if the rocket had commenced lift-off it would certainly have caught on the launch-pad, which was not fully withdrawn. Thus the computer did what was required of it—it used the program it had been fed to detect a possible irregularity, and halted all the prelaunch processes. It is difficult to say at this moment what the cause of the trouble was. When the fuel is drained off we shall analyze everything. It is only after this that preparations for launch will resume. I think it is premature to say when it will now take place, but it has scarcely been put off for long. We are testing a completely new and very complex system and should be prepared for such situations.

Moscow Comments on Failure

LD2910173288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1330 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Station Commentary read by (Vladimir Bezyayev)]

[Text] As you know, comrades, the launch of the multi-purpose space rocket transport system "Energiya," which was to lift the "Buran" shuttle into a near-earth orbit, was set for 6 hours 23 minutes 46 seconds today. However, instead of a report on the launch, you heard a report that it was first of all postponed for 4 hours and then until a later time. So what happened?

We are well acquainted with the common idea that a negative result in any experiment is nevertheless a positive result, because it has resulted in new knowledge,

and, putting it simply, has answered the question, yes or no. In this situation, everything is new, both the multi-purpose rocket carrier "Energiya" and the orbital spaceship "Buran," and even the launch pad itself. It is for this reason that this flight is called, not fortuitously, a test flight.

So, the point is that this space rocket system has its own electronic brain. The launch command reaches it several minutes before the launch itself. Here for the first time in the history of our space exploits [kosmonavtika] this electronic system itself, without the intervention of people—and such intervention is simply not possible here, because of the enormous quantity of information—questions all the instruments, units, and systems, and itself decides to start the engine. If just one of more than 300 systems is not functioning correctly, the rocket carrier itself will not allow the engine to be started.

This is what happened 51 seconds before the time set for the launch. The machine gave the command that forbade the launch. Specialists think—I was at the Flight Control Center during the launch—that this is also an important result. So the computer, or, in a manner of speaking, the electronic brain of the rocket, found a fault and made the decision. The "Energiya" rocket and the orbital spaceship "Buran" remained whole and undamaged on the launch pad. This would simply not have been possible in the rockets with which we are familiar. They have now drained off the fuel, about 2,000 tonnes of oxygen, hydrogen, and kerosene, and after this the specialists will be able to determine the reason for the fault, analyze it, and after a certain time again give the command: Ready for launch.

Cosmodrome Official Interviewed

LD3010000188 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 29 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent S. Slipchenko video report from Baykonur Cosmodrome—recorded]

[Text] [Slipchenko] These shots were filmed in the control room for the prelaunch preparation and launch. Work on fuelling started exactly on time. All operations were carried out in accordance with the program, and then, with only 51 seconds remaining before takeoff, the order came up on the screen: Automatic abort. The control process stopped. This is what happened. We were the last, along with the testers of the cosmodrome, to leave the launch pad (?yesterday), and today were the first to come to film these pictures, to show viewers that nothing extraordinary has happened on the launch pad, with either Buran or Energiya. [video shows people in control room, control panels; shut-off shuttle on launch pad; cut to Valeriy Yevgeniyevich Gudilin, head of the Testing Directorate of the cosmodrome, identified by screen caption]

Valeriy Yevgeniyevich, [words indistinct] us about [word indistinct] space tests of rocket and space hardware, (?in) such a new business as testing this machine probably is for you. Since this morning many viewers, and even people from abroad, have been calling and asking: What actually did happen? Why didn't the launch take place at the set time?

[Gudilin] The safety system of the carrier rocket put out a signal to abort the launch preparations. This was caused by a fault in one of the systems. You can see that the machine in front of you is in safe condition. At the moment we are draining the fuel components, in particular hydrogen and oxygen, from both the engine installation of the orbital spaceship and from the carrier rocket. The rocket as a whole is safe. It is still on the launch pad, and can be prepared at any moment for launch. But in connection with the fact that there nevertheless was a fault, it is essential now to analyze the failure, understand the reason for it, take measures that will rule out a similar failure in the future, and embark on further checks. During the preparation of such things we presupposed, or presuppose, the possibility of the work not being fulfilled. The technology is rather complicated, so such failures and faults are not ruled out. Relevant documents have been worked out for such a case, to ensure that the work is carried out (?according to the laws) of the Flight Control Center, the so-called algorithm of making the complex and carrier rocket of the orbiting spacecraft safe. This is what we are doing at the moment. (?After) analyzing the reasons we shall embark on further preparations.

[Slipchenko] Is what happened a failure—the fact that the rocket is still standing on the launch pad?

[Gudilin] I don't think it will be bravado if I say that it isn't a failure. Because every tester involved in such complex hardware must understand that completely unexpected things can happen in tests. So in our business, in the testing of such a complicated complex, I must say that our system ensures the safety of work first and foremost. It prevents the manifestation of any sort of breakdown situation which could cause damage to the hardware or accidents with the people (?serving) the complex. This is also good experience in carrying out tests in cases of unforeseen situations.

[Slipchenko] The viewers can be sure that we filmed this material not yesterday, before the launch preparations had started, but today, because you can see how the first stage is steaming, how the oxygen is being drained, and even the girder, the one girder there on top, the service tower [machta obsluzhivaniya] or girder, looks as if it is (?hanging loose).

[Gudilin] To talk of this system, the system that reported the fault, if it had not operated on time (?on) the safety system of the carrier rocket, it could have led to more serious consequences. At the present time there are no consequences. Simply put, the launch preparation cycle

of the carrier rocket of the orbiting craft has been broken off, in order to evaluate and analyze the situation that has arisen. [video shows the two men by the launch complex, with shots of Energiya]

New Launch 'Won't Be Long'

LD2910204588 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Excerpt] The head of the testing department, General Gudilin, has told newsmen at the Baykonur Cosmodrome that it is still premature to name the time for the launching of the Soviet space shuttle Buran, but it certainly won't be long. [passage omitted on background]

New Launch After Holiday

PM3010200188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 Oct 88 p 3

[TRUD Special correspondent V. Golovachev report from Baykonur Cosmodrome: "Space: Fifty-one Seconds to Lift-Off"]

[Excerpts] The test flight of the reusable "Buran" orbital spacecraft and of the new-generation "Energiya" carrier rocket was scheduled, as has been reported, for Saturday, 29 October. But the launch had to be put off. Major General Aviation V. Ye. Gudilin, chief of the Baykonur Cosmodrome Testing Directorate, told us how events developed. [passage omitted]

In order to carry out a careful investigation into the situation, liquid hydrogen, oxygen, and kerosene have been drained from the tanks. All the systems will be blown through with nitrogen and then air will be let in there....

So what is the result? We view today as a dress rehearsal. We shall look into the reasons why the service platform did not move back, and we will give the go-ahead for a new launch. That will probably be after the November holiday. However, we shall not hurry. The time has gone

by when launches were hurried along to fit in with holiday dates. Haste in an important matter like space exploration is inadmissible....

Our conversation ended. The 50-year-old general looked fatigued. He is very experienced (he was a submariner and spent many years engaged in rocket technology), and he knows very well that the experience acquired now will be very useful in the future. Work on the Soviet reusable craft continues.

TASS Reports on Mir Cosmonauts' Work

LD2810164588 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 28 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 28 TASS—By a TASS correspondent reporting from Mission Control Centre:

The crew of the research orbital complex Mir (Peace) are winding up another week in space.

Within the framework of a programme of astrophysical experiments with the use of the "Maria" magnetic spectrometer, Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have completed a cycle of studies involving currents of elementary high-energy particles and their interaction with the earth's radiation belts.

In keeping with an environmental programme, the cosmonauts photographed farm lands in the southern regions of the country's European part. The Television images received during the experiments will be used by agricultural experts for assessing the state of winter crops.

Titov and Manarov underwent cardio-vascular system check-ups in the conditions of reduced pressure on the lower part of the body with the pressurized suit Chibis on.

The commander and the flight engineer will be engaged today in the maintenance of on-board equipment and propulsion control units. Valeriy Polyakov, the crew's physician, will check his own heart's bioelectric activity in the state of rest.

According to crew reports, the flight is proceeding according to schedule. The cosmonauts are feeling well.